

Review of INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

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Review of INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

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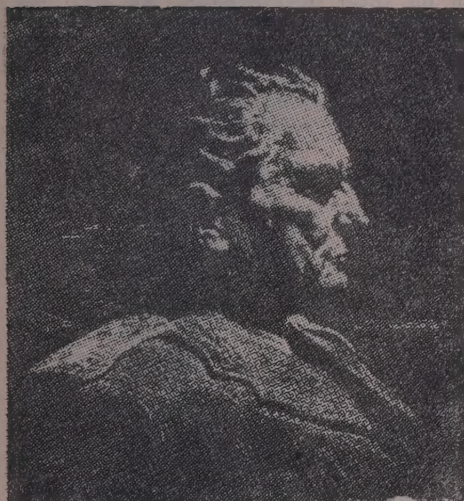
The Forthcoming Talks between the Highest Representatives of the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia

IN their mutual wish to ensure the further improvement of relations between the two countries, and to contribute to the strengthening of peace the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the Government of the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia have agreed to arrange for a meeting of their top level representatives. With this object in view the following delegations have been formed:

By the Union of the Soviet Socialist Republics: N. S. Khrushchev member of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR and First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, head of the delegation; N. A. Bulganin, President of the Council of Ministers of the USSR; A. I. Mikoyan, First Deputy President of the Council of Ministers of the USSR; D. T. Shepilov, President of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the Council of Nationalities of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and Editor-in-Chief of the newspaper „Pravda“; A. A. Gromyko, First Deputy Foreign Minister; and P. N. Kumäkin, Deputy Minister of Foreign Trade of the USSR.

By the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia: Josip Broz Tito, President of the Republic; Edvard Kardelj, Vice-President of the Federal Executive Council; Aleksandar Ranković, Vice-President of the Federal Executive Council; Svetozar Vukmanović, Vice-President of the Federal Executive Council; Koča Popović, State Secretary for Foreign Affairs; Mijalko Todorović member of the Federal Executive Council; and Veljko Mićunović, State Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs.

The meeting will be held in Belgrade towards the end of May 1955.



The Normalization of Relations with USSR a Great Success and a Contribution to Peace

PRESIDENT TITO'S SPEECH IN PULA

In a speech held at a great mass meeting in Pula to celebrate the tenth anniversary of the liberation of Istria and Pula, which was attended about 100,000 people, President Tito outlined the major problems of foreign policy today. President Tito said:

THE PRESERVATION OF OUR INDEPENDENCE IS ONE OF THE GREATEST ACHIEVEMENTS OF OUR COUNTRY

TEN years have elapsed since the liberation of our country from the occupying forces. This is a short time-span in the history of a people, but for our country even this short period is invested with immense significance, owing to the magnitude of the results achieved in the meantime. During the past ten years since our country has succeeded in freeing itself from all shackles of the past, our people have taken their fate in their own hands and chosen their own way of building their internal life according to their own wishes and the best of their knowledge. We have achieved notable results and can say that Yugoslavia is completely reborn today, that it has changed its physiognomy and that it is no longer the backward pre-war state but a modern industrially developed country which is progressing daily. Yugoslavia is a country which has acquired great distinction and prestige in the world of today. Its moral prestige in

the world remained inviolate both during the war and in the post-war period. If you follow world events carefully as I believe you do, if you follow the rôle of our country in foreign policy attentively, then you will see that this small country of 17 million inhabitants, the socialist Yugoslavia has acquired a place in the world which many bigger countries could envy. Needless to say, this is largely and to a decisive extent the result and success of our peoples who knew in the post-war period (which was not easy as we passed through different phases and encountered many difficulties), — to preserve their unity and stand firmly and steadfastly on our soil and say NO to everyone who wanted to convert our country into someone's satellite once again. Our peoples preserved their independence through all the trials and difficulties we had to undergo since the Liberation, and today on the tenth anniversary of the Liberation we can say that one of the greatest results achieved by our country lies in the fact that we have succeeded in preserving our independence, that we have succeeded in obliging even the big powers to

speaking with us today as equals in the international community.

Allow me to deal in somewhat greater detail with the present world situation, as the latter is indissolubly linked with the development of our country and its future. Objectively speaking, and after a careful analysis of all the current world developments, we can be glad that the efforts in the struggle for peace have not remained without results. Those ominous clouds and gloomy outlook which threatened mankind two or three years ago have in my opinion already been dispelled today. Needless to say, it would be too optimistic to affirm that all dangers have already been eliminated, but I must say that the results achieved in this respect by immense effort are considerably encouraging.

It thus happened after the war that instead of reaching agreement on various outstanding problems within the United Nations between the big powers and the other countries, the world split into two camps, and began whetting their knives and casting guns with a view to resolving international problems. Such a conception of foreign policy of course caused deep anxiety among all peoples of the world, especially our peoples who shed so much blood throughout the centuries and suffered immense ravages during World War II. During this entire period, in this difficult situation we were steadfastly on the side of those who sided for peace. On innumerable occasions we provided an example of perseverance in this struggle for peace and persistently extended our support to those who strove towards the peaceful solution of outstanding international problems. Today we can say that there is already a series of examples which can make us glad and revive our courage and faith in the preservation of peace. The Korean problem for instance which represented a festering sore and potential source of a new world conflagration was finally eliminated.

FOUR POWER CONFERENCE AN ENCOURAGING SYMPTOM

The problem of Indo-China which drained immense human and material resources and also threatened to spread into a world war, was settled at least partially if not completely. Second, the Trieste problem in which we were the most concerned and for the solution of which we made immense efforts and sacrifices, has also been resolved, and I consider that we can justly be proud of the sacrifices made to this end, as we have proved not only by words but also by deeds that we are for the peaceful solution of problems and that we are ready to make sacrifices in the interest of world peace.

The present situation can really justify our optimism as we have met with the response of the Italian leaders with regard to the further promotion of our good relations and cooperation, both in the economic and cultural as well as the political field. Needless to say, there still remains much to be done in this respect. Only goodwill is necessary on both sides and I can say that it will not be lacking on our part.

Agreement has also been reached on the solution of the Austrian problem and the Austrian State Treaty signed today. This is also a problem which beset the world, and parallel with that of Germany, contributed to international tension. This is now settled and it is wise that the solution of this problem was boldly approached thus removing it from the agenda.

It is also encouraging to note that the three big powers advanced the proposal to meet with the Soviet Union to talk over the different problems which are still pending and await their solution.

The Declaration issued a few days ago by the Soviet Union on disarmament and on the settlement of a spate of other problems is likewise significant. I can say that this Declaration contains many things which we can accept without reserve and that we can be glad if the postulates of this Declaration are carried out in practice. I think this will be an immense contribution to the strengthening of world peace and the fostering of confidence between peoples and states.

Furthermore the normalisation of relations between our country and the Soviet Union is also a notable success and contribution to world peace.

WE WILL NOT ALLOW ANYONE TO INTERFERE IN OUR INTERNAL AFFAIRS

You know how this normalisation was brought about. This was a most difficult problem, as we were subjected to an immense pressure and various other trials for six years. But we resisted again, and the leaders of the Soviet Union who are today responsible before their people and the world have boldly approached this problem and offered the normalisation and improvement of relations between our two countries.

I know that you are already informed of the agreement reached a few days ago that a Soviet delegation headed by top level Government representatives should visit our country i. e. Belgrade. — Many people were extremely surprised by this, but I can say that I and all of us can only welcome such a bold decision to come and talk on all outstanding problems with us by the responsible Soviet leaders. During the preparations for this meeting we let them know what the whole world and our people have known long since, i. e. that we wish to talk as equals, that we wish to talk as an independent country, that we wish to remain entirely independent in all our actions, both at present and in the future, that we do not wish anyone to interfere in our internal affairs, that our internal system concerns only us alone, that we will not allow anyone either from East or West to interfere in our internal affairs. We only informed them of all this directly, and they have accordingly decided to come here and discuss the problems still pending or outstanding with us, and thus provide a firm and solid basis for this normalisation and avoid all illusions on their side or ours. We will talk before the whole world, and the whole West and the world at large will know what we have spoken about and what decisions were reached, as we have no intention of manoeuvring behind the scenes at the expense of someone else, and those who imagined, in the West as well, that we will no longer be what we are, will be mistaken.

WE WILL NOT JOIN ANY BLOC

What should be the relations of our country towards the Soviet Union and the other countries of Eastern Europe? What should our relations be with the Western countries and many other countries? I think that these relations should be similar between all countries. We will not side with any bloc, we will not join any bloc as long as they exist. I think that the time will come, perhaps in the not so remote future, when the idea will prevail with certain responsible statesmen who are today the exponents of such a policy that it is impossible to consolidate a lasting world peace in this way, that one should pursue a different policy than that of blocs and the division of the world into ideological camps, and that another course should be devised, the course we are preaching long since, based on cooperation, active coexistence between peoples and states regardless of differences in their political and social systems.

The talks scheduled in Belgrade within a few days time will evolve on this basis, i. e. cooperation and coexistence between our country, the Soviet Union and the Eastern European countries, the respect of sovereignty and independence, and the achievement not of a temporary solution in order to resolve the present situation, but a lasting settlement which should provide the foundations for future international relations as I am convinced that a joint Declaration will be issued on this occasion which will express our views on international cooperation. I think that this will be a major contribution to the relaxation of the present international tension. I will not say that these efforts will contribute much to the solution of the most important world problems, as the German problem for instance, but I believe that this will lead to far greater confidence in certain overtures, and certain concrete acts which the present Soviet leaders propose and wish to realise in practice. Of course I cannot prognosticate and declare that it will always be so, but this is the situation today. In my opinion, the fact that we have today reached a phase when people are willing to sit down and talk things over is immensely favourable in itself. Needless to say there is much chaffering on such occasions as everyone wishes to draw the greatest advantage for himself and such tendencies still prevail. Nevertheless, we have every reason to be glad that in the long run people have become convinced that it is far cheaper to negotiate peacefully and

that this is actually the only possible way to avoid the catastrophe of another world war.

THE GERMAN PEOPLE SHOULD BE GIVEN THE RIGHT TO DEAL WITH ITS OWN AFFAIRS AS ALL OTHER PEOPLES AND TO UNITE

If we review the present outstanding issues we see that they are considerably disquieting. Let us take the German problem for instance, for which we have always said and clearly stated our view that Germany should receive its sovereignty, that the German people should be given the right to deal with its affairs as other peoples, to be united etc. We repeat today that we consider it high time the German people should speak for itself and that its problem be resolved. I think that too little account in this context is taken of the wishes and aspirations of the German people themselves who are tired of various adventures and wars. I do not refer to any of the various concealed resurgent Nazi elements, but the German people which acquired considerable experience from the two world wars. We say that it would be a mistake to create bad blood among the German people, and let them reach the conclusion that nobody wishes to help them, and that the tendency prevails to treat them as a semi-colonial people or convert them into an instrument for various provocations or war. We think that it would be most dangerous if the German problem which represents the major European issue would be allowed to deteriorate still further and lead to such contradictions which might have far-reaching consequences. Our country as well as the world at large is worried, owing to the fact that although the solution of many problems by means of peaceful negotiations has proved both efficient and possible, and in spite of certain signs of goodwill on the part of the Soviet Union to settle outstanding problems in a peaceful manner and the wish of many people in the West that such problems be resolved in a peaceful manner, there are still some people who have a decisive voice and who consider that only power can ensure world peace. The conception of power, the conception of superiority in armaments, however, cannot bring any results as it constitutes a threat to peace in the long run, and even if war is avoided for the moment, it can create a situation which will enable it to break out tomorrow, as superiority, particularly military superiority and power is one-sided and tends towards the achievement of certain objectives by means of pressure, which may sooner or later lead to conflict. And we wish unsolved problems to be settled in a peaceful manner and by peaceful means. The world balance of power has been restored today where armaments are concerned, and I must say that we are sometimes surprised at the shortsightedness of those conceptions which strive to achieve specific results by means of power and superiority. This will be no success but a failure because the armaments race will continue on the other side, thus stimulating the race on both sides and inevitably ending in war.

WE WILL STRIVE AGAINST THE USE OF NUCLEAR ENERGY FOR WARTIME PURPOSES

We were therefore against joining the NATO as we consider that the time has come to talk and not to brandish weapons. For this reason we are also against the use of nuclear energy, the atom and hydrogen bombs for wartime purposes as we consider this one of the direst threats to mankind. We most vehemently oppose the use of these weapons and we shall also fight against it. It is not sufficient, however, only to prohibit and prevent the use of these weapons, the problem of disarmament should be approached with equal determination as the armaments race is an immense drain on world resources, as it lowers the standard of living and represents a constant threat to peace. Both disarmament in general and the prohibition of such weapons as the atom and hydrogen bomb, bacteriological and chemical warfare, are all major problems which have only been broached so far and for which no solution has yet been sought. I think that it is high time the armament race should cease and the solution of the problems I mentioned above approached.

There is still considerable anxiety in the world because, whether justified or not, distrust between governments and states prevails etc. Every gesture, every over-

ture on one side or the other is contemplated with suspicion as a manoeuvre concealing some ulterior motive. There is no confidence. This is also understandable, because when one is deceived once he is always on his guard afterwards, but this must not always be the case and things may change however. The distrust which prevails today is the main obstacle which prevents people from approaching the solution of various problems. It is affirmed in the West for example that the Eastern bloc has immense human potential, vast quantities of armaments, and that if the West does not maintain its superiority in atom and hydrogen bombs the people from the East with the immense armies of the Russians, Chinese etc. will be able to overrun them. But it is not the question of who will overrun whom, but of seeking and devising all possible ways and means to convince mankind that only the road of peaceful cooperation and coexistence can ensure its further existence and development. This is in question and nothing else. I must say that the moral factor in the world has today become one of the most powerful means and weapons. This moral factor is today already invested with a universal character and has become an integral part of human consciousness. This is being borne in mind to an increasing extent.

WE ARE CREATING MORAL FORCES CONSISTING OF ALL WHO LOVE PEACE AND FREEDOM

When we visited India and Burma, many people looked askance at us and asked why are these Yugoslavs going there, what are they looking for in India and Burma, what results can this yield? However, we did not go to India and Burma because we thought that these countries dispose with immense forces, armaments and what not. We knew that they were devoid of all this. But we went there because we know that these peoples fervently wish for peace, and that they possess those high moral qualities and consciousness necessary for the preservation of peace. We knew that this represented a vast force in itself and wanted to join it in the common fight for peace. This prompted us to visit India and Burma and not the quest for an ally or the intention to create a „third force“. What nonsense to attribute the intention of creating a „third force“ to us when neither they nor we have the necessary armaments and resources to create a third force capable of opposing the vast potential on both sides. No, we are creating a power of moral force consisting of all those who love peace and freedom. They will all join us. This is why we went there.

Contemplated as a whole the present world situation is more satisfactory than a year or two ago. Not only because our situation has improved and because we have acquired many friends, or due to the immense prestige enjoyed by Yugoslavia in the Asian and African countries and the admiration and esteem of our determination, achievements, and sacrifices, but because the forces of peace in the world are acquiring an increasingly organised character. In my opinion, for instance, the Bandung Conference of the Asian and African countries represents the most important historical event not only during the past decades but also during the past centuries for these peoples who have found the possibility and sufficient courage to meet and discuss their problems, regardless of differences in internal systems (which range from feudalism to socialism) as they have had enough of alien intervention in the past. They have met to talk and it is probable that they did not themselves expect to reach decisions on so many problems they dealt with. However if you read their Declaration you will see that their views on many problems and matters were completely identical and that they brought their decisions unanimously.

WE ONLY STRIVE TOWARDS THE CONSOLIDATION OF PEACE

Needless to say, there were attempts to break up this conference, there were many malevolent intentions, but the spirit which stems from these countries predominated and prevailed at the conference. I believe that this spirit, this understanding of the need to unite against all beligerent attempts and against the tendency to divide the world into ideological blocs and to gain something at the expense of others will prevail both in Europe and in the world at large.

I must say in this connexion that both I and my collaborators are proud to be responsible for the foreign po-

licy of a country such as ours. I am deeply convinced that it is the unique support we enjoyed during this entire ten year period which enabled us to speak so openly and approach matters in this field so boldly without fear that the people will ever abandon us. I can tell you that things are not easy for us. We encountered difficulties everyday. We were beset by natural disasters and hunger, and there were attempts, at the moments of greatest trial when we were confronted by the problem ensuring our everyday bread to put pressure on us. However we replied that all such attempts are in vain and that we will rather go hungry and starve than consent to any conditions whatever. And we have succeeded in maintaining our positions.

Of course I can say today that we are grateful to the Western allies, particularly America which extended and continues to extend us aid, but I repeat today as I have always stated believing that this is also the opinion of our entire people that we will never consent to any aid with strings attached. We do not consider aid as a kind of payment or bribery, but as a matter of humane feelings, and on the other hand we consider that such aid is justified and well deserved in view of the sacrifices made by our people in World War II and its present endeavours aiming at the preservation of world peace. Our country and we who are responsible for its policy, wish to maintain the best relations with the Western countries. Let no one think, as some might allege, that having once received what we need we will now reverse our attitude. No, we shall continue steadfastly and wish, as regards our attitude towards international problems, to have a free hand and use the moral capital we have acquired as

best we can, namely to strive towards pacification, prevention of war and consolidation of peace. There is no reason to fear, as we have stated on countless occasions that although our people is firmly united and has its mighty army, we will never raise a hand against anyone who does not attack our country.

WE WILL NEVER BE A TOOL OF ANYONE WITH AGGRESSIVE INTENTIONS

We will never be an instrument of anyone who might eventually harbour aggressive intentions against someone else. We remain as we are and wish to maintain good relations with the West, just as we wish to notably improve our relations with the Soviet Union and the other Eastern countries as we consider it a great misfortune not only for us but also for them that these relations were not as they should have been so far. I will not discuss whose fault it is on this occasion. We have suffered much. We are now concerned with future relations and how the policy I have expounded here will be understood.

I believe that our peoples welcome the fact that the Soviet delegation will arrive to our country to discuss problems of mutual interest and which concern world peace. The Soviet Union has of late made a whole series of overtures and proposals which we consider constructive, and I think that the forthcoming talks and what will be achieved here will be extremely constructive and a notable contribution to the preservation of world peace.

AFTER THE SIGNING OF THE AUSTRIAN TREATY

REGIONAL PEACE IN DANUBIAN BASIN

Robert SCHEU

Member of the Presidency of the Austrian Society for Peace

ON the proposal of the writer of this article, the Austrian Society for Peace, towards the end of March 1954, just over a year ago, addressed a note to the Soviet Plenipotentiary Minister in Austria, Mr Ilyichov, recommending the Soviet occupation authorities to take the initiative for the spontaneous fulfilment of all those concessions and facilities which the USSR was ready to accept at the Berlin Conference on the basis of the draft of the Austrian Treaty; in such a way as if the Treaty were already concluded — in a word, to renounce all that it did not consider absolutely necessary for the realization of the one proclaimed objective: guarantees against the Anschluss. „By such a step” — said the above mentioned note — „the Soviet Union would damage neither its prestige nor its diplomatic position, but would, on the contrary, produce a very favourable impression on the whole world”.

What occurred recently, to the great surprise of the whole world, so exactly coincides with this suggestion that it may be considered, if not a successful beginning, then at any rate the fulfilment of a wish.

Why should it not be welcomed also as a favourable sign that the Yugoslav Ambassador in Vienna, his Excellency Mr. Dragomir Vučinić gave a lecture on coexistence, on April 19 this year, in the Austrian Society for Peace, in which he advocated a principled and broad peace policy, hinting at the active cooperation of his State leadership. (The former Yugoslav Minister, Mr Viktor Repić, had previously delivered a lecture in the Austrian Society for Peace, when he spoke with great success on the Trieste

issue). In this article I shall set forth the remarkable and real significance of this manifestation.

The sudden change in the Soviet policy towards Austria, by which the Soviets surprised the whole world, justifies the fact that not only the leading personalities, but also the public organs on all the continents, stood in amazement, and still do not know what to make of it. What is in the mind of the Soviets? What is behind it all: a trick, a plan? In any case, a strong chess move is involved, a move which calls for an equally powerful answer. But had not a formula been created and repeated for years — to the effect that the Austrian Treaty was a touchstone of good will? This formula should be valid still, now that the test has succeeded. Perhaps it is a question of a tactical manoeuvre; if so, it has been carried out in such a brilliant style that even reserved criticism finds itself in an awkward situation.

The fact itself that Austria was publicly and officially invited to give a constructive contribution is a novelty which must not be ignored. Does not this novelty conceal an opportunity, because of the fact that the Russians are quite seriously endeavouring to bring forward their own concrete proposals, which have ensured attention in advance? Hic Rhodus, hic salta! The opportunities which the Russians have offered Austria, no matter what they conceal, should be taken as such and turned to advantage. Austria is invited, and it might even be said that she is expected, to offer realistic guarantees against any so-called Anschluss, which we have explicitly renounced so many times already. We have no wish to dash the hopes which are placed in

us, and we should like to recall, in this connection that there is no more efficacious and realistic barrier to the Anschluss danger than coordination in the Danube Basin, such as existed up to 1918, as a natural result of geo-political conditions. In supporting this idea, nobody thinks of the restoration of the monarchy, but of the geo-political linking of free, but also mutually independent republics on good-neighbour lines, with mutual respect for the peculiarities of the regimes and way of life of all the participating countries, without interference from outside and without any occupation — and all this with the ultimate aim of establishing an area of free trade such as existed in this basin and such as already affirmed itself. Such a plan should not give rise to disapproval or mistrust in any centre of world policy. Of course in such a combination Austria would have to take efficacious measures in advance for the ensurance of her freedom. In this respect she would probably succeed, as she has been successful in much less favourable circumstances. Regional peace in the Danube Basin would create an island of peace on the same spot where catastrophes occurred several times in the past. It would also provide an opportunity for ensuring a stable future for the Free Port of Trieste.

In view of the delicate situation on all the continents, this high objective could only gradually be achieved — as Mr Vučinić pointed out in his lecture — and would have to be built on the basis of partial successes. From the purely practical and realistic viewpoint, we recommend that steps be taken above all for removing or straightening out obstacles and friction not only of a material nature, but

also of an ideological character, which have accumulated during this transition period. This task, which should have been concluded long ago, now calls for fulfilment: establishment, delimitation, clarification and settling of mutual claims and debts which have accumulated among the countries of the Danube Basin and which, owing to the unfortunate past of these countries and because of the huge number of thwarted lives, stands like a rock in the way of the natural easing of tension. It is high time that these unsettled commercial debts and debts of honour be given a positive, reviewable, legal, obligatory and recognized consolidated form, and that thus it be provided for their discounting.

It may also be assumed that possible difficulties of a material nature could be overcome and liquidated for a long time to come through the big financial groups. In any case, such a concept provides an answer to the question, what would be the most useful subject for talks. The task is clear, and it can be settled with a pencil in one's hand. But above all, old accounts should be cleared.

In this connection, the definition of the Yugoslav state leadership on regional peace, or, as Nehru says, on the creation of peace areas, has come at the right moment. Austria will soon become independent, but this does not mean that she wants to be isolated. Neutralized, but not rendered sterile, she will have a natural power of attraction for the countries of this basin. It will be undoubtedly of great significance if the neighbours of Austria greet with sympathy the conclusion of the Treaty.

Yugoslavia Greets with Great Satisfaction the Signing of the Austrian Treaty

The State Secretary for Foreign Affairs, Koča Popović, gave the following replies to questions on the signing of the Austrian Treaty, put to him by Tanjug's Diplomatic Editor.

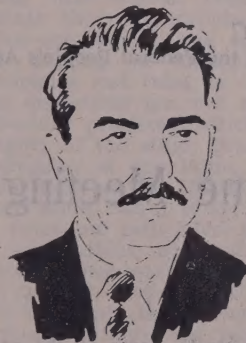
QUESTION: How do you appraise the significance of the settlement of the Austrian question from the view of the further consolidation of peace in the world and possibilities for taking steps for the examination of other outstanding international questions?

ANSWER: The Yugoslav public opinion received with great satisfaction the signing in Vienna of the Austrian Treaty.

After persistent efforts over a number of years to ensure the signing of the Treaty, the Austrian people have now gained their freedom. It is an indisputable fact that the establishment of an independent and free Austria constitutes an important contribution to the strengthening of peace in Europe, and we hope that the signing of the Treaty will improve the possibilities for approaching the remaining problems as well. Hence, in our opinion, it is justifiable to expect that the announced conference of the Big Four, especially if it manifests the same spirit of understanding and cooperation, will produce results which will contribute to the further easing of tension.

The Yugoslav Government is particularly pleased that the Austrian question has been settled, with a view to the interests of the Austrian people themselves. Actually this means that the Treaty is also in the general interest.

QUESTION: The statements of a number of Yugoslav officials here in the country and in the international forums stressed the wish of the Yugoslav people for the solution of the Austrian problem. Would you be so kind as to state how you view the return of full independence to our neighbour, on the occasion of the signing of the Austrian Treaty?



ANSWER: The Yugoslav Government has wholeheartedly supported the aspirations of the Austrian people for independence, as it was convinced that the establishment of an independent and free Austria would give new stimulus for the further development of friendly cooperation between the two countries.

Besides this, the signing of the Treaty removes certain obstacles which were standing in the way of mutual relations.

The Yugoslav Government intends to join the Austrian Treaty in the shortest possible time and thereby it will, inter alia, recognize the frontier, which has been a subject of dispute between the two countries in the past.

Article 7 of the Treaty permanently legalizes the rights of the Yugoslav national minorities in Austria. The Yugoslav Government is convinced that with the coming into force of the Treaty, the Yugoslav minority in Austria will become an increasingly firm link between the two neighbouring countries under the new conditions.

As regards the second paragraph of Article 45 of the Treaty, which speaks about former Austrian property in Yugoslavia, we are convinced that on the basis of a broader economic cooperation between the two countries, taking into consideration the actual position and some unsettled Yugoslav claims, it will be possible to find a practical solution which will satisfy the interests of both countries.

The Yugoslav Government sincerely congratulates the Austrian people on the establishment of their free and independent State, and wish that they may build their future in peace. The Yugoslav peoples are prepared to cooperate even more actively in all fields with the free, independent, friendly Austrian people, in efforts for the preservation of peace in this part of Europe, and for the building of a better future.

Yugoslav Message to the Foreign-Political Committee of the Austrian Parliament

THE Foreign Affairs Committee of the Executive Council of the Federal People's Assembly held a meeting on May 13, when the State Secretary for Foreign Affairs, Koča Popović, informed members of the Committee of the solutions of certain more important problems of foreign policy. In connection with the signing of the Austrian Treaty, members of the Committee approved the message to the Committee for Foreign Policy of the Parliament of the Republic of Austria, which reads:

The Foreign Affairs Committee of the Federal Council of the Federal People's Assembly greets the forthcoming signing of the State Treaty on the re-establishment of independent and democratic Austria.

Yugoslavia has always given full support to the efforts of the people and Government of the Republic of Austria to regain their independence, convinced that by taking

her place in the ranks of equal and free nations, Austria would contribute to the strengthening of peace in the world. In this Yugoslavia has a special interest as Austria's neighbour with whom, after the signing of the Treaty, she will be able to develop even closer and more comprehensive cooperation, as a country which also adheres to the principles of independence and equality of nations. We greet the success of the conference for the independence of Austria, because this is another proof that all international problems and disputes may be settled on an agreed basis, in the interests of the preservation and strengthening of peace. Convinced that the Austrian Treaty will contribute to the further easing of tension in the world and to the expansion of international cooperation, we greet the people of neighbouring Austria who, under the new conditions, will contribute their share to the common building of peace and friendly relations among nations.

Vladimir SIMIC

Vice-President of the Federal People's Assembly

The Rome Meeting of the Council of the Inter-Parliamentary Union

THE main agenda items at the recent meeting of the Council of the Inter-Parliamentary Union (one of the oldest international organizations in existence today — founded in 1899), which was held in Rome from April 12 to 17 this year, was the problem of true and peaceful coexistence between nations.

Placing this item on the agenda, the Executive Committee of the Union asked five commissions — political, law, economic, disarmament and relations — to study the problem from their own point of view. This method of work proved to be very effective — not only because it made possible a thorough study of the problem, but also because, in preparation for the debate, the commissions collected useful and interesting material, which later enabled delegates to draw impartial conclusions. And this impartial treatment of the problem, the reduction of its important aspects to incontestable facts, the illustration of its essence and development — all proved by historical events — and the unambiguous appraisal of the present international situation, without any illusions or suppression of facts, without any ideological or propaganda

motives, raised the standard of discussions in the commissions, and at the meeting in general, so that all moves of a tactical or propaganda character, if they were made at all, were bound to fail.

But this does not mean that the views of various delegations were identical, or that, in addition to the proclamation of adherence to the United Nations Charter, to the resolutions of the Union itself and to the principles and rules of international law, it was possible to recommend in the draft resolutions any concrete policy as a road to the establishment of collective security and international peace, regardless of the different social and political systems in individual states. Thus, for instance, the Yugoslav delegation did not succeed in its endeavours to include in the draft resolutions a condemnation — even in a mild form — of bloc politics, or to declare the idea of coexistence the aim which should be fought for. (In the opinion of other delegations, these were matters to be deduced from the texts of the resolutions or to be supposed).

This is, however, not the only thing to be mentioned when the meeting of the Council of the Inter-Parliamentary Union in Rome is discussed. There was a tendency to shift the discussions to a different ground, and to incite all those antagonisms and ideological differences which characterized international relations during the „cold war“. Towards the end of the discussion, a draft resolution was submitted proposing that „the preliminary condition for peaceful coexistence of all nations“ should be „the certainty that they have governments which truly represent the opinion of the majority of their inhabitants“, and that „general elections, to make sure that every individual would have the freedom to express his opinion freely, should be held under strict international control“. Consequently, it was proposed that „such elections should be conducted in the course of 1956 in all European countries which were politically independent up to 1939“. This draft resolution caused a great deal of concern because it was signed by representatives of seven countries (Belgium, Greece, Italy, Switzerland, Holland, Eire and Luxemburg). A long and difficult discussion followed, in which almost all the delegations present took part. Fortunately, only three delegations, signatories of the resolution, spoke in its favour. They merely expressed their surprise with the arguments with which they were opposed. They were told, for instance, that the very proposal of such a resolution showed that its initiators did not believe in the possibility of peaceful coexistence. Further, the demand for international control of elections in individual countries would be in contradiction with the principles of non-interference in the internal affairs of other countries, as well as with the principles expressed in the resolution itself, which showed that the signatories were not in favour of the application of such principles in international relations. Finally, the demand that such elections should be held only in European countries, together with a failure to grasp international conditions, pointed to the propaganda character of such a proposal, as well as to the wish to bar the way to all possible negotiations, understanding and application of international law in settling international conflicts and disputes. As a result, no voting took place: the signatories withdrew the draft resolution.

Another interesting case occurred when the British delegation submitted its own resolution. Taking in account the aims of the Inter-Parliamentary Union and the importance of cooperation between parliamentary institutions, the British delegation considered it necessary to greet the new national groups which joined the Union. The British delegation had in mind the East European countries, which, after their withdrawal in 1948, had again joined the Union (Rumania and Czechoslovakia in 1955, Poland, Bulgaria and Hungary in the autumn of 1954). The British draft resolution mentioned a declaration of the Supreme Soviet of February 1955, which, among other things, recommended direct ties between individual parliaments. As soon as the text of this draft resolution was distributed, it was proposed (again by the Belgian delegation) that the sentence relating to the said Soviet declaration should be struck out. In the end the amendment was rejected and the British draft resolution accepted by a vote of 29 to 12.

It would be superfluous to expatiate in this article on the well known Yugoslav view on the problem of peaceful coexistence between peoples. In Rome the Yugoslav delegation found it easy to explain its ideas to the delegates taking part in the meeting, since the material collected and arranged by experts, and later distributed among all present, contained documents which gave a clear picture of the Yugoslav attitude. These documents included the full text of the Tito-Nehru declaration issued in New Delhi on December 22, 1954, and a part of an article by Rade Vlkov, which was published in the Review of International Affairs No. 114, of January 1, 1955. The Yugoslav attitude, obviously, could not be disregarded, and the fact that such important documents relating to the Yugoslav ideas were included in the material prepared for the study of the problem was, no doubt, due to the value of Yugoslav foreign policy, and to the influence it exerts on world public opinion.

The draft resolutions accepted in the five commissions, together with the British resolution, cover many pages of printed text. Consequently, they cannot be discussed here. What is more, we believe that it is not yet time to discuss them, for they will be publicly considered only

if and when they are accepted by the annual conference of the Union, which is to be held in Helsinki at the end of August. However, we shall record here, in an analytic sense, the course of the discussions, which were extensive and which cannot easily be reproduced. We do so on the basis of our own notes, and on the basis of documents distributed to the delegates.

Things must be considered as they are. No one must be swayed by illusions: at present deep and far-reaching differences divide the world into two camps. These differences have grown from entirely different social, political and economic systems. As a result, views on social ethics are also different. All this involves conflicting ideologies, whose internal values represent irreconcilable categories. No one, therefore, should think about any „crusades“. History has shown that no solution can be achieved by that method. But is it possible to give up that method before the antagonistic forces have exhausted themselves in a mutual and bloody struggle? Judging by the evidence it seems possible. Everyone is aware that modern science and technology have created destructive weapons, which, if used, would cause great devastation and frightful consequences. Now the fear of this has become the foundation upon which people can build their hopes and confidence that a lasting peace will be established.

Antagonism, mutual distrust and accusations are all based on events which have happened in the past. Accordingly, no one should insist on them. No nations should be asked to make amends for past errors. What is necessary is to look into the future and seek ways and means of reaching mutual understanding. At first this understanding cannot be complete, and any, even a modest success would be encouraging. No one should demand that the two heterogeneous civilizations should combine into one, or that one should absorb the other. The main thing is to evade what would be a catastrophe — a conflict between the two opposing systems. At present the foundations upon which the necessary understanding can be established are, it seems, of a formal and legal nature. For despite their completely contradictory views, both camps accept the validity of international law. In spite of their opposing doctrines, both sides recognize the force of international rules. They accept, on the whole, the principles of sovereignty, international agreements, non-aggression, non-interference in internal affairs of other people, equality of rights, international deliberations, arbitration and international courts, as the means of regulating and developing international relations. All recent documents which state that international politics should be based on peaceful coexistence, and international relations on peaceful solving of international disputes, emphasize these principles and rules of international law.

These principles and rules are not new. They originated in the 19th century practices, which were based on the absolute sovereignty of the state. Consequently it may appear, as some delegates at the Rome meeting pointed out, that the essential ideas of the United Nations Charter are thus being pushed aside. But it is not only the Charter that proclaims such rules and principles: they are accepted by all governments and nations, which thus confirm their wish to see peaceful coexistence established between different social and political systems. Both the United States and the Soviet Union, to take only the strongest powers, have shown by their doctrinal attitude and various declarations that they agree upon the aims which are to be reached. No progress, however, has yet been made in finding the means by which such aims are to be realized. Although the mentioned rules and principles are recommended from all sides, they are not applied in practice.

Even this short analysis of contemporary international conditions forces one to draw conclusions that logically explain the ideas which make the basis of Yugoslav foreign policy, and which are very clearly expressed in the Tito-Nehru declaration of December 1954. To ensure collective security and international peace, now that different social and political systems exist in the world, people will have not merely to accept the ideas of peaceful coexistence and declare their adherence to the rules and principles of international law, but also to conduct active, positive and constructive policies, which will gradually change and adapt these rules and principles to concrete international relations and requirements. They will have not only to accept the principles of peaceful coexistence in theory, but also to determine the definite aims which are to be fought for.

ENCOURAGING PROGRESS

THE last weeks of April and beginning of May recorded numerous and encouraging events, both in the so-called East and West, and in the broader area of international relations. Changes in the Soviet attitude on the question of the Austrian Treaty have led to an unexpectedly rapid conclusion of that agreement, and it is understandable that such an initiative could not but be reflected strongly also on the development of other outstanding European and world problems. And just as the West could not but show its reaction to Chou En-lai's offer for direct talks with the USA on Far Eastern questions, so the Austrian initiative was met with a counter-initiative when a four-power top level meeting — a meeting of the heads of state — was proposed by the Soviet side. In the meantime however, another constructive action was taken by the Soviets — an action coupled with the revised attitude on the question of disarmament which, in its new, revised form, would not yet be acceptable perhaps, but which certainly means a considerable drawing closer to some Western premises, and shows that, given further good-will on both sides on this, almost the most important, world question in dispute, an agreement and solution could be reached by and by.

Besides these chief indications there are also other favourable signs which show that the process of relaxation of tension and appeasement is progressing in the world, primarily thanks to the pressure of world public opinion and of numerous countries which, in the bloc policy and armament race, as the only alternative of peaceful negotiations and consultations — see the greatest danger of the present time, which threatens to push the world into a fatal abyss. The force of the policy of active coexistence such as proclaimed on several occasions — among some of the principal Asian countries, in the declarations of Yugoslavia and India and Yugoslavia and Burma, and then, in a specific way, at the First Asian-African Conference in Bandung, and which enjoys the support, in a greater or lesser measure, in one or another form, of many other countries, especially in Europe, regardless of the formal adherence to blocs — this force has fully revealed itself in the present relations and as a decisive factor in world developments. Beating back with increasing effectiveness the tendencies expressed in the ratification of the agreement on German rearmament, and in such acts as the Warsaw conference — and stimulating, on the other hand, tendencies for the peaceful settlement of disputes between opposing countries and sides — the force of the policy of active coexistence is blazing its way, if not yet as a prominent factor, then certainly as an ever more influential one, with which both East and West must reckon.

There exist two kinds of outstanding problems in the present world, to which four-power and similar meetings and talks might be devoted, no matter at what level. The first type would include those problems for whose solution the four great powers are responsible, and hence also competent — on the basis of definite international and generally recognized arrangements. Such is the Austrian problem, and the problem of Germany, although certain aspects of the settlement of these matters have a vital bearing on other European countries, so that a complete and final settlement is unimaginable without the active participation of these countries, and without their cooperation in the respective phases of settlement.

Falling under the second category are those problems of a wider, general character, which go beyond the East-

West framework of relations, and do not belong to the sphere of any special responsibilities and competence of the big powers, except insofar as they lay special claim to their settlement, in virtue of force. The procedure in settling the questions of this type differs considerably from that in the first group, and in conformity with their broader or general character, their settlement calls for the participation and cooperation of all the interested countries, which means settlement before the United Nations Organization, or before corresponding international conferences.

Still, it is not very difficult to find a solution in such a situation. It might be found in confining the examination of the general problems by the inner group of big powers to definite aspects and to definite phases of solutions, to be followed by the sanctioning of the final and complete settlement by UNO or a corresponding wider conference of the interested countries. Viewing the matter in this light, it seems that no particularly alarming tendencies for by-passing or substituting UNO are to be detected in the present state of affairs; what is more, there is a prospect that the present actualization of the main outstanding problems of general significance, through four-power discussions or in similar ways, might have a favourable influence on the activation of UNO, and in particular on UNO's General Assembly, in the autumn this year, where the solutions might even be facilitated by a previous defining of attitudes and views of the great powers. It is to be hoped that in this regard too, the big powers will show a readiness for yielding to arguments of reason and expediency, as the evolution of their attitudes on other outstanding questions seems to indicate. In this reversion to reasonableness of the big powers we should see, if not the only one, then certainly a very important cause of progress, which is shown by the liquidation of the hitherto prevailing tension and seen in the improvement of prospects for the life and development of peoples and countries, without exception, in a more peaceful world than the one in which we have been living.

It would be premature and probably hardly possible at present to establish all those factors and elements which have influenced the current tendency for a rapid easing of tension in the world, the tendency for a more resolute superseding of the method of rattling the sabre by the method of conferring and consulting. The beneficial influence which the general policy of contemporary Asia and Africa and particularly that expressed in the Bandung decisions, have exercised on the development of relations throughout the world, may specially be stressed without fear of exaggeration. On the other hand, it is impossible to ignore the influence of the disposition of European countries, which almost without exception see their own catastrophe in the danger of armed conflict, and hence, despite weaknesses and certain inconsistencies, nonetheless found themselves pursuing the policy of reason and reality even in the most critical moments. This state of affairs does not in the least diminish the growing readiness of East and West to yield to these and similar influences and, by revising their formulae and abandoning rigid views to develop constructive initiative on questions which have been checking peaceful development for so many years, threatening to push the world into the abyss — the vanquished as well as the victors, if indeed the conditions of a possible nuclear war at all permit the use of such terms.

FROM THE NUCLEUS OF THE ATOM

WHEN on the 6th of August 1945, the first atomic bomb exploded, and with its devastating force instantaneously transformed Hiroshima into a desert and a graveyard, the whole world knew that man now held in his hands a power which he had never had at his disposal since he first appeared on this planet about three hundred thousand years ago, a power undreamt of since the first moment of human consciousness. For those who understood its deeper meaning, the terrible thunder over Hiroshima announced the beginning of a new era in the history of humanity. Not because at that moment a new and deadly weapon had been brought into action, incomparably more powerful than any previous one, the use of which would automatically transform every war into a mass extermination more terrible than the most terrible catastrophes of the elements, but because this explosion of the first atom bomb amongst other things, signified an irrefutable experimental confirmation, after forty years, of Einstein's discovery that mass and energy are in essence the same, that they are only different manifestations of the same thing, i. e., that the nucleus of the atom represents in practice an inexhaustible source of energy, and that the explosion proved that man has succeeded in reaching this source, in obtaining this energy, in releasing and mastering it, thereby discovering the possibility of finally conquering Nature. But the atomic bomb was an ominous warning, the signal of a crisis in the development of civilization and of the human race in general. This led to what is even today a burning question: what will man do with this gigantic invention, with this discovery which is unique in the whole of his history? For, in the nucleus of the atom, so dense and so inaccessible to our senses, from which it is infinitely remote in its infinitesimal minuteness, which we have nevertheless begun to penetrate and deprive of its immeasurable power, at the same time solving many of the innermost secrets of Nature, which include the secret of life itself, is hidden the material pre-requisite for solving the fundamental problem of society, for creating those balanced human communities which will ultimately be undivided by class and national distinctions. From the nucleus of the atom a classless society will be born. For it holds out the promise to man that one day he will in fact become the complete master of Nature and his own fate thanks to the power which he is only beginning to employ for his own good.

But at present this power tends far more to man's greatest harm than to his good, threatening him with terror and destruction. The hydrogen bomb, which was exploded on the first March 1954 over the Marshall Islands, had, according to official data, an explosive power equal to a hundred million tons of TNT, that is, five hundred times greater than the atomic bomb which was dropped over Hiroshima. But this is not all. The production of bombs of much greater destructive power is foreseen. Nor is that all. What makes thermo-nuclear weapons a danger which has hitherto never confronted the nations of the world, is the fact that between these weapons and all the others there is not only a *quantitative*, but also a *qualitative*, difference in explosive and destructive power: It is impossible in advance to control, to limit, or even to estimate the effect of the thermo-nuclear bomb. This is proved by the fate of the Japanese fishermen whose boat was more than thirty kilometres away from the periphery of the area over three hundred kilometres in diameter which was drawn round the place of the explosion, and which was sprinkled with a white and imperceptibly light ash like a perfidious death-laden snow. In spite of the best possible medical treatment they died in agony, one after the other, as a result of burns and the other terrible consequences of nuclear radiation. Nobody can foresee in which direction and how far — possibly

for thousands of kilometres — air currents can carry a radio-active cloud, nor how far death will spread, carried far and wide by radio-active currents, fish and sea-weed.

And so today, man goes in fear and trembling, terrified by what he should rejoice at, namely, the most effective weapon that science has ever placed in his hands, with which, if he knew how to use it, he could at will transform the whole of this planet, and indeed, in the distant future, not only that. But the discovery of nuclear energy, the theoretical and practical possibilities of its use, that magnificent achievement of the human mind, that discovery which, in its greatness and significance, transcends the bounds of nations and blocs, and in essence universal and belonging to the whole of humanity, has become today almost the exclusive monopoly of two great powers, who use it almost exclusively in the race for armaments, for the purpose of strengthening their murderous power, and of intimidating, blackmailing and terrorizing others. What could be, should be and will be the *instrument* of all nations in the common struggle for general progress, for man's supremacy over nature, is today mainly a *weapon* in the mutual struggle for the supremacy of one great nation over its rivals and over all others. It is natural that to the monopoly of the use, or rather to the monopoly of the possibility of using atomic energy for military purposes there should be added, as a consequence and a means, the monopoly of its use for political ends.

The possibility of utilizing atomic energy for military purposes, and the utilization of this possibility for propaganda and political ends, one on the material and the other on the psychological plane, are similar in their inhuman nature, and are equally destructive, and both are in the service of a senseless ambition for world domination, in the service of death. For intimidation which paralyses the living, freely creative powers of man is only a more gradual and less perceptible form of killing.

In vain it is insisted, even though it be under the guise of hypocritical pacifism and love for humanity, with the intention of frightening the world, that in certain countries there exist, or are being prepared, means of instilling even greater terror, and that an uncontrollable thermo-nuclear power of even greater destructive force may threaten the existence of the whole planet, in the event of its being unleashed by a war — whether „preventive“ or not ... In vain one wishes that the shadow of the radio-active cloud were constantly hovering over our heads to make our flesh creep. There will and must come a day when the utilization of atomic weapons will be prohibited, a day when such a prohibition must and will be really and truly effective, because the instinct of self-preservation of the human race as a whole is stronger than the instinct of death (if this exists at all) and stronger than the power of death. For, if it had not been stronger, we humans, in view of all these evil, destructive forces, in view of all that is inimical to Eros, in us and around us, so it seems to me, would long since have ceased to exist on this earth. This instinct of self-preservation and reproduction of the species, this instinct of love which we call Eros today, has an ally, which indeed has not yet grown to its full strength but which is undoubtedly growing every day bigger and stronger, until one day it will be the master of the earth. This ally is human consciousness.

This consciousness, the social consciousness of men, the consciousness of nations, is growing ever stronger, and with the growth of the danger which threatens nations with extermination, with the growth of this threat is growing at the same time the consciousness by means of which alone people and nations can struggle against the danger that menaces them, and against the fear of this threat. Human consciousness grows in strength every moment, as do men's experience and power. And the

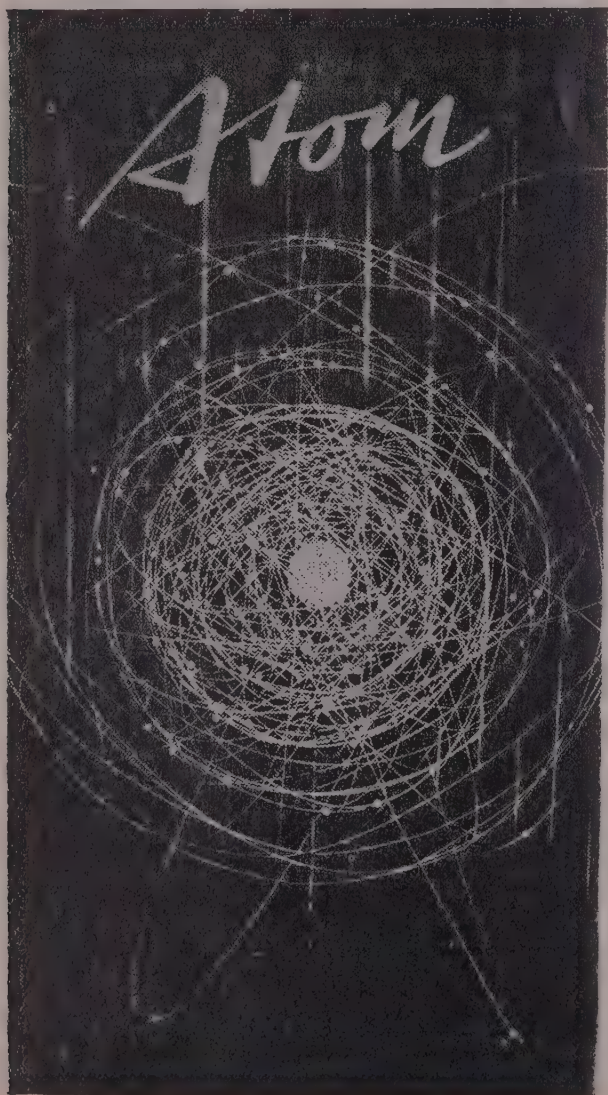
nations will learn in time to prevent the use for their own enslavement and annihilation of that same energy which is destined by its very nature to make them free and happy, for, thanks to this energy, or rather to its complete and rational exploitation, humanity will attain that stage of development, with regard to its material productive forces, which will mean *the end of the class prehistory of man*. It is impossible to suppose that human reason will not be victorious, however many reasons there were yesterday, and are today, for doubting this, in face of the devastating spectacle of human reason eclipsed, moral destroyed, blood shed and the absurdities of life, which we are never spared. Eros will conquer, and nothing will prevent science from keeping the promise given us by the mysterious and all-powerful nucleus of the atom.

It seems logical that it is *above all* necessary, indeed essential, to prohibit the use of atomic weapons, to put an end to perfecting the means of mass destruction, the effect of which cannot be foreseen either in its range or in its undescribable horror, to cease experimenting with thermo-nuclear weapons, *either openly or secretly*, which represent, not only a constant danger to peace and indeed a potential form of aggression; but also an immediate danger to human life, on this revolving cosmic stage which, as it is, is full of perils for man. To prohibit the use of atomic weapons, to stop the race for atomic armaments, to put a stop to the production of atomic and hydrogen bombs, to destroy existing stocks of these bombs, to set up an international control for the purpose of gradual disarmament, and once more, above all, to prohibit the use of atomic weapons — these are catchwords which

have been repeated times without number in all possible resolutions, appeals, proclamations, declarations, speeches, articles, diplomatic notes, messages, manifestoes and petitions. In all camps voices are raised expressing anxiety, and protesting in face of the latent, but already real danger. The persistent repetition of these catchwords, the piling up of such appeals, which come from all corners of the geographical and political world, are without doubt an encouraging sign of human intelligence, notwithstanding their platonic and frequently demagogic character, notwithstanding therefore their lack of real efficacy. These catchwords and resolutions are in any case symptoms of the growth and strengthening of human consciousness, and so, even though they are slow and indirect, they are nevertheless effective.

But just as I write these lines, signs of initiative are appearing and multiplying — not only that, but *action* too, which is even better than mere encouraging signs and comforting symptoms, even more than mere negation of evil. For, in face of the bipolar problem of using atomic energy, in face of this fateful problem, whose two poles, two aspects, are diametrically opposed (which is the very reason for its fatefulness) the struggle for its constructive solution is dialectically much more efficacious than the struggle *against* its solution in the destructive sense. It is good and even necessary to wage the struggle on all fronts, to ensure that the inconceivable energy contained in the inconceivably small atom, shall never be used for military purposes, but it is even better and more necessary to use all one's resources in the struggle to ensure that this energy shall be employed *as soon as possible* for peaceful ends. Science and technology, biology and medicine, industry and agriculture, in fact the whole world, is waiting for this inexhaustible energy, to give it the fantastic impetus which it has in its power to give for the good of man. And only when it is made to serve life, will it be no longer able to serve death.

Just as the use of thermo-nuclear weapons would inevitably mean a catastrophe for *all* nations, and just as in the armed peace which at present reigns throughout the world, the security, welfare and development of *all* nations are subject to the material and moral pressure of an insane and ominous piling up of modern weapons, in the same way a rational employment of atomic energy for peaceful purposes can only be achieved by the concerted efforts of *all* nations. In order that such employment of atomic energy may be possible for the greatest good of *all* humanity — which is the only way in which it can be used, universally, in common and under control, for great and small nations alike — it is necessary to lay the foundations of international co-operation in this field. At this very moment, and from those very powers in whose hands lies terrible power of using the nuclear element in the service of death, comes the initiative, as it should do, for searching and finding, in the form of mutual and international co-operation, a more perfect means of mastering this legendary element and in placing it, controlled by the human mind and the human hand, in the service of man. At this very time, a consultative committee of the United Nations Organisation is working to arrange an international conference of scientists, which will be followed by the creation of an international agency for atomic energy. There already exists the European Council for Nuclear Research. These are more than symptoms. Reason is asserting itself; science is raising its head, and in the proud service of peace, in the service of that real wealth which can only be a wealth shared by all, in the service of the future, it is opening up unimagined and infinite perspective. And it is only in terms of the future that our unsettled present can be healed. The real possibility of future happiness sets the key-note for the mood of the present, and saves it from self-destruction. By creating the conditions necessary for this future happiness, by the very same means as might be responsible for a final and complete catastrophe, we can be most certain of preventing that catastrophe. All will yet be well.



A CONFERENCE OF GOODWILL

IMPRESSIONS FROM BANDUNG

THERE was something in Bandung that has not been noticed at other international conferences since the war — a spirit of goodwill and tolerance. Premier Nehru's idea that the conference should not discuss disputable issues, but only the wishes and needs which unite the world, was fully realized. Despite various difficulties and the partial disagreement of some delegations with this „new pattern” of talks between statesmen, his idea triumphed in the end, so that the Bandung Conference was a useful lesson for the whole world.

Observers who predicted a split among the delegates and a failure of the Conference omitted to take in account the thorough and important preparations that had been carried out. We do not mean the organizational and technical preparations, which were of a high standard, and which surprised even the most critically minded visitors to international gatherings and diplomatic meetings. The Asian-African Conference had behind it also great ideological preparations, to which many observers did not pay enough attention when assessing the chances of the talks. The Conference, in fact, was the result of certain ideas which in Asia had been developing for some years, receiving support from more and more countries, and in the end even from China.

In 1949, when a group of Asian and African countries, together with Australia, met in New Delhi to consider the situation in Indo-China, the wish was voiced that the countries of that area, which spreads beyond the usually understood regional limits, should consult, and even set up an organ which would improve their cooperation within the United Nations. However, the idea of setting up a special organ was later given up, for that would have been a substitution for the United Nations itself, but the idea for consultations and cooperation gradually assumed a concrete form. At the Colombo conference of the Premiers of the Southeast Asian countries, which was held in May last year, generally objective tendencies were displayed, which might have been the basis for the proclamation of the principle of coexistence. Although there were conflicting views on the world situation, the declaration issued after the meeting said: „The Prime Ministers reaffirm their faith in democracy and democratic institutions, and, having decided to preserve freedom as an essential element of the democratic system, declare that they are firmly resolved not to tolerate any interference in the home affairs of their countries, whether it should come from communist, anti-communist or other forces”.

In spite of the fact that this statement was restricted in the geographic and ideological sense — for obviously only one kind of democratic system was considered — it was of considerable importance, because it condemned interference in the domestic affairs of independent countries in principle, so that non-interference, the right to independence and, in a broader sense, to self-determination, were all proclaimed ideas which no one should violate. Although the principles of peaceful coexistence, similar to those later endorsed by Chou En-lai, Nehru and U Nu, were criticized by some of the participants in the Colombo Conference, all Southeast Asian countries — in addition to India and Burma, Ceylon and Pakistan — agreed on the impartial, universal application of the same five principles which were proclaimed by Nehru and Chou En-lai only a few weeks after the Conference, and which state that relations between India and China, as well as between all other countries, should be based on mutual respect of each other's territorial integrity and sovereignty, non-aggression, non-interference in other people's affairs, equality and peaceful coexistence.

This similarity of views, which exists in a large part of Asia, has been disregarded since bloc politics began to spread rapidly over that continent too. But although Pakistan is a member of one of the existing blocs, its activities

at the Bandung conference showed that there are some joint tendencies in the policies of the Asian countries which cannot be denied by individual states, even if they are members of some non-Asian bloc. The common interests of the countries of that great area, which have just won or are winning independence, and which must fight against the elementary difficulties of political and economic development, influence their attitudes just as much as their possible connections with other powers. For this reason, probably no one was very much surprised that Pakistan, the Philippines and Iraq were not too consistent in the defence of the tendencies opposing peaceful coexistence, and that in this they gave place to Turkey, which is only partially an Asian power, and whose needs are perhaps totally different from those of most Asian countries.

Even before the Bandung Conference it was possible to see that, owing to the broadness of the agenda, which provided for the discussion of the principles of cooperation, a sharpening and a split would be prevented much more easily than at other diplomatic talks on concrete disputes. The Conference faced only two dangers. Firstly, there was the danger that the participants might go into lengthy and fruitless discussions on the formulations of the principles which should be the basis of relations between the Afro-Asian countries, and, secondly, it was feared that the Conference might try to solve some concrete and difficult disputes which still shake the Afro-Asian region, and which might lead to a split.

But after Pakistan, the greatest Asian member of SEATO, had displayed a great measure of broad-mindedness in its views, the conflict between the so-called bloc tendency and the principle of coexistence did not prove to be as dangerous as was thought. Those who defended the bloc tendency, i. e., the theory that the world is today divided in two opposing blocs, and that smaller and weaker countries must join one of them — naturally, the „just”, the „democratic” one — were the target of ironical speeches, and remained completely isolated.

A week before the Turkish delegation left for Bandung, the prominent papers of Istanbul published articles declaring that Turkey, as a country which is very close to America, and which is directly threatened by the opposing side, should show the inexperienced Asian what road to take. And this road, naturally, was to lead to joining one of the two blocs. In his preliminary address the Turkish delegate, Mr. Zorlu, included NATO, the Balkan Pact — which is regional in character and independent — the Turko-Pakistan Pact and the Turko-Iraqi Pact in the same order, that is, he presented them as a single system. Further, he ascribed all the blame for the unsettled conditions in the world to the opposing bloc. His speech was supposed to be a „realistic appraisal” of the situation, the consequence of which, as Nehru said in a brilliant reply, might have thrown the world into a third world war. „Moral force”, said Nehru, „can be expressed in the present-day world only through the opposition of states against such would-be realistic appraisals of the situation, and through their endeavours to blunt the sharpness of bloc politics by refusing to join either of the blocs”.

In further discussions individual delegations tried to introduce this arbitrary tendency into the work of the conference through the back door so to speak. But no one else tried to defend the views of the existing blocs as openly as Turkey had done. Yet disagreement might have been introduced among the delegates by proposing formulations which would have been unacceptable to one or more delegations. And the success of the whole Conference depended on unanimity. Thus, for instance, the Chinese delegation would have found itself in a very difficult position if Kotelavala's proposal that the resolution condemning colonialism should also condemn the So-

viet policy in Eastern Europe had been accepted. This demand, after it was withdrawn by Kotelavala, was put forward by two other delegations. But no one insisted very much on these „unpleasant” proposals. This was largely due to the conciliatory attitude of China. For in face of the example set by China, no delegation was ready to run the risk of being responsible for a serious conflict. Throughout the Conference the fear of being accused of an irreconcilable attitude was much stronger than the fear of not being „consistent”.

The second factor which might have made the passing of general resolutions difficult was the Arab demand that Arab-Israeli relations should be discussed. For seeing that Israel was not invited to the Conference, approval of the Arab accusations would have certainly divided the delegates. It was possible, however, through general endeavours, to reduce this question (the consideration of which could not have been stopped even by Nasser, although he had promised to try in a conversation with Nehru immediately before the Conference) to a recommendation that the United Nations decision on Palestine should be applied, and that the difficult problem of the Arab refugees should be settled. Other concrete questions, such as the position of the Arabs in North Africa and the right of Indonesia to West Guinea, which were dealt with towards the conclusion of the Conference, did not represent any danger, since the entire Afro-Asian world supported these demands, which are based on the right of the people to self-determination. The same can be said for the demand that all independent countries of the region which are not members of the United Nations should be admitted to its membership. In the discussion of this question China displayed a great deal of broad-mindedness. She supported the demand without linking it, as her ally the Soviet Union does, with the admission of the East European countries. China also supported the condemnation of the „gentleman's agreement” on the composition of the Security Council, which the Soviet Union still respects. And since the Chinese delegation also joined in the condemnation of bloc politics, without excluding the Soviet Union from this, it can be said that in Bandung China pursued an independent Asian policy.

All Bandung conclusions were based on the principles of coexistence, and this is of great importance. These principles were harmonized with the various regional and national wishes which were also expressed there. The greatest success of the Bandung Conference undoubtedly lies in the fact that all the participating countries — both those which are members of the blocs or close to the blocs, and those which are almost traditionally against them — agreed on the necessity to defend and preserve peace. When we speak of the former, it would not be just to consider only Pakistan, Turkey, Iraq and Lebanon. China, too, must be included in their ranks. But both China and Pakistan made statements which complement rather than exclude one another.

When Mohammed Ali proposed his seven points with which he wished to dispute the proposal of U Nu, it was seen that the Conference was going to end successfully. In his proposal Ali repeated the basic principles of coexistence, adding only a paragraph on the right of countries to collective and individual defence against aggression. Although Ali proposed this paragraph, having in mind the definite needs of his country and the arrangements it had made in the international field, and although Nehru, as an ardent opponent of such arrangements, rose against it, its approval would be of objective benefit to many countries. India, no doubt, considered its strength to be a sufficient guarantee against sudden aggression, or that it could defend itself alone. There are, however, many other countries which cannot rely on their own forces, and which must seek solutions in regional arrangements. Since regional arrangements, however, are sometimes mere appendages of the blocs, the formulation on the right to collective self-defence, as proposed by Ali did not provide a complete solution. The compromise which was reached in the Political Committee shows the importance of combining various attitudes towards individual problems. In the final formulation, the paragraph on defence against aggression says that regional arrangements should not be directed against any other country, that is, that they should not be the tools of some bloc in its hegemonic policy.

In comparison with the political conclusions, which immediately became a factor of considerable importance in international relations — without them China would have hardly proposed talks with America, and America would not have begun to support proposals for international talks on serious current disputes — the economic and cultural conclusions of the Bandung Conference may seem less realistic. While the Asian powers play an important part in world politics, in the economic field they are not yet fully independent. They still suffer from the legacy of colonialism, or they have to fight against new forms of economic exploitation. Yet the economic conclusions have their historical value, because the Asian countries, although seeking assistance from the world community, are firmly resolved to rely on their own forces and work, and to put forward, in principle at least, definite conditions for foreign capital investments in their territories. For without such conditions the condemnation of colonialism would be futile.

Even if the Bandung Conference had ended without any definite declaration, it would still be of great importance, because it provided an opportunity for more than a billion of recently liberated people to make each other's acquaintance. As it is, it has succeeded in going further, and in agreeing on the principles of goodwill. And the example it has set will certainly have considerable influence on international conferences which take place in the near future.



ECONOMIC PROBLEMS

Stojan PETROVIĆ

NEW TRADE AGREEMENTS WITH TURKEY

THE new trade agreements concluded recently between Yugoslavia and Turkey provoked lively interest for several reasons: first because certain difficulties were encountered of late in the trade exchange between the two countries which required solution by the conclusion of a new instrument, second, because the newly stipulated volume of commodity exchange is smaller than last year, and third, because these agreements which are concluded for a five year period represent an innovation both in the relations between the two countries, and for both countries generally in their foreign trade relations.

In order to gain a correct understanding of the newly signed instruments, one should bear in mind the experience acquired from the development of mutual economic relations hitherto as well as some factors relating to the Turkish economic situation and policy.

Notwithstanding 335 million dollars worth of goods exported last year Turkey registered a foreign trade deficit of 150 million dollars thus raising its debit balance with the countries within the EPU to 424 million dollars. Turkish foreign trade in the course of this economic year is still under the impact of the severe drought which not only deprived Turkish exports of their staple product, cereals, but even required the purchase of certain quantities of soft wheat abroad. The effects of this year's drought will doubtless also affect this year's balance of trade, probably to still greater extent than last year, as Turkey entered upon 1954 with substantial carry-over stocks of grain thanks to the 1953 bumper crop.

Primarily due to the absence of cereals from its export lists, but also for other reasons including large-scale investment projects, the introduction of an excessively liberal import policy in the previous years, etc. Turkey was obliged to seek a postponement of its present obligations, the granting of other short and medium term loans, and the request of additional US aid.

It is known that by the end of last year Premier Menderes succeeded in arranging the continuation of US economic aid in addition to military assistance. While the sum of only 70 million dollars was mentioned at that time, recent press reports cite the figure of 250 million dollars as economic, and another 250 million dollars as military aid.

A special arrangement for the settlement of Turkish obligations totalling 1—2 million pounds towards Great Britain, Belgium etc. which total 12 million pounds was likewise concluded.

At the same time Turkey undertook special legislative measures with a view to stimulating the flow of foreign capital to Turkish investment construction, but without achieving any notable success in this respect so far.

Apart from this, Turkey introduced a series of measures for the purpose of reducing its adverse foreign trade balance. In the first place, Turkey practically completely abolished the liberal import policy, as payments licences are necessary not only for imports from the so-called „clearing countries” with whom Turkey maintains

bilateral relations but also for all goods purchased in the OEEC countries. By the end of last year Turkey introduced a series of extremely severe restrictions with the aim of reducing imports, primarily of consumer goods which resulted in a shortage of these goods on the Turkish market, and an appreciable price increase of these articles. Owing to its limited purchasing power in the OEEC countries, Turkey sought to improve the situation by increasing its purchases in the countries with which it maintains bilateral relations including the countries of Eastern Europe.

Such a state of Turkish economy, foreign trade and balance of payments inevitably affected trade exchange and economic cooperation between Yugoslavia and Turkey.

While economic cooperation was virtually nonexistent before 1952 being limited exclusively to routine commodity exchange which averaged several million dollars annually, serious economic cooperation was initiated with the signature of a Trade and Navigation Convention and Trade Agreement by the end of February 1953. Several factors contributed to the exceptionally rapid growth of economic cooperation. In the first place, the promotion of economic cooperation was a result of ever closer political collaboration which received its concrete expression in the conclusion of the Ankara Treaty and the Bled Agreement. The payment difficulties experienced by Turkey with EPU countries, resulted in an even stronger trend of Turkish foreign trade towards the expansion of exchange with our country, which was, thanks to its industrialisation capable of supplying the Turkish market with many industrial products required by the Turkish economy. The successes scored by Turkey in the output of grain and cotton enabled Yugoslavia to purchase these articles in Turkey. The readiness and capacity of the Yugoslav industry to take part in Turkish investment construction opened new prospects for the expansion of economic cooperation and commodity exchange between the two countries. Owing to the aforementioned circumstances Turkey moved up to the second place on the Yugoslav export list and became third placed on the Yugoslav import list; Yugoslavia played a similar role in Turkish foreign trade being third and fourth on the Turkish export and import lists respectively. The volume of mutual trade exchange rose to 46.3 million dollars in 1953 and 42 million dollars in 1954. However, in order to gain an accurate picture of the dynamism of commodity exchange one should not contemplate the whole of last year as the second half was already under the impact of the severe drought which hit Turkey last year. The first five months of 1954 show that Yugoslav exports to Turkey averaged or even exceeded the 3 million dollars mark each month. All this led to the drawing up of new commodity lists between Yugoslavia and Turkey for the period from April 1, 1954 to March 31, 1955 in a volume of 80 million dollars both ways. However, the absence of wheat from the Turkish export schedules and

the special administrative measures introduced by the latter in the course of last year aiming at the reduction of imports in general, particularly imports of consumer goods and many industrial products, resulted in a decline of Yugoslav exports to Turkey on the one hand, and the almost complete cessation of Turkish exports to Yugoslavia on the other. Consequently the 1954/55 trade agreement was fulfilled only in the amount of 26 million dollars.

Wheat and cotton are the most important articles for the fulfilment of these trade agreements. Last year's agreement stipulated the optional quantity of 250,000 tons of wheat. For justified reasons Turkey was unable to honour this optional obligation. However it was justly expected that Turkey, precisely owing to its incapacity to fulfil this obligation, will therefore honour the obligations foreseen concerning cotton deliveries which were fixed by the same agreement in the value of 12 million dollars or 13,000 tons. However Turkey endeavoured to place the maximum part of the available cotton surplus (approximately 60,000 tons) in the OEEC countries and thus improve its balance of payments situation with the EPU. Hence Yugoslavia received only slightly over 7,000 tons of cotton in the meantime. Owing to the almost complete cessation of exports to Yugoslavia Turkey soon encountered payment difficulties within the Yugoslav-Turkish clearing. In order to facilitate matters for Turkey, the Yugoslav National Bank placed an additional interest-free manipulative credit in the value of 10 million dollars for Turkish purchase in Yugoslavia at the disposal of the Turkish central bank, which constitutes a fine example of understanding and collaboration between two allied countries. The deliveries of the most important export headings as for instance timber cement etc. which were indispensable for Turkish investment construction were completely fulfilled and even exceeded in some cases on the Yugoslav part.

A Protocol regulating Yugoslav-Turkish trade exchange for the coming twelve months was signed in Ankara on May 3. Turkey will export 27 million dollars worth of goods to Yugoslavia while the latter will export goods in the value of 23 million dollars to Turkey in addition to over 20 export items which are marked p.m. on the export schedules. A higher value of the Turkish export list has been stipulated owing to the wish of the Turkish Government to settle the present debit balance within the Yugoslav-Turkish clearing during the next twelve months. The Turkish export lists primarily foresee the delivery of 200,000 tons of wheat and 7,000 tons of cotton. As Turkey expects a good crop in view of abundant rainfall this spring, and an increase of sown surfaces, the Turkish government was willing to assume the definite obligation to deliver 150,000 tons of this facultative quantity from the new harvest. This represents an innovation in Turkish-Yugoslav economic relations, as the quotas were always fixed so far on an optional basis, thus implying only the intention of exporting the quantity stipulated and not a definite obligation. A similar arrangement was made for cotton Turkey having assumed the definite obligation to deliver at least 4000 tons of this commodity until the end of this year. This quantity is unable to satisfy the present Yugoslav requirements in this article. The necessary steps have already been taken to orient the Yugoslav textile industry to the purchase of Turkish cotton. In the course of 1953 and 1954 Yugoslavia regularly purchased over 9,000 tons of cotton on the Turkish market. The reason for the reduction of the quantities imported primarily lies in the tendency of the Turkish economy to process the maximum quantities of cotton at home. Turkey decided to increase the number of spinning jennies from 250,000 to 1 million. This year already Turkey will process about 30,000 tons of cotton out of a total annual harvest of 140,000 tons in its spinning mills. However, in view of the fact that Turkey is increasing its own surfaces under cotton, and the trend is towards the increase of weaving mills instead of spinning mills in the future Turkey will remain a major cotton exporter for some time to come. It is expected that Turkey will export about 60,000 tons of cotton this economic year while the Yugoslav textile industry reasonably expects that it will be possible to augment cotton imports from Turkey in excess of the minimum quotas stipulated.

Among the other Turkish export articles one should primarily mention 10,000 tons iron scrap, 5,000 chrome

ore, 2,000 tons manganese ore, oil crops, raw hides, rice, fresh fish etc.

The Yugoslav export lists primarily cover products of the manufacturing industry, mainly the metal, electric engineering and chemical industries. As distinct from the Turkish export list which includes only about 30 products, the Yugoslav export list covers several hundred products. Owing to the notable reduction of felling in the Yugoslav forests, the former quota of sawn softwoods was reduced to one third in the value of 1,5 million dollars. Exports of half a million dollars worth of sawn hardwoods are likewise foreseen as well as 350,000 worth of wooden insulating materials, half a million dollars of various types of printing and writing paper, and 400,000 dollars worth of cigarette paper. Exports of cotton fabrics were reduced from the former 5 to 3 million dollars. This reduction which is unfavourable for the Yugoslav industry was called forth by the restrictive measures introduced by the Turkish administration which strives to prevent the import of textiles to Turkey. Exports of cement were set at 2.5 million dollars.

There exist genuine prospects for the complete fulfilment of the new Trade Agreement during the next twelve months. The fact that by exporting wheat, cotton and other products Turkey will be in a position to ensure sufficient means for the payment of its purchases in Yugoslavia will enable the Turkish administration to apply the principles of the present Trade Agreement without reserve, i.e. to issue the necessary import licences without delay for Yugoslav products stipulated by the new commodity lists purchased by the Turkish importers. This was not the case last year when commodity exchange between the two countries was seriously hindered by the failure of the Turkish administration to carry out the contractual obligations, by refusing to issue or greatly delaying the granting of import licences for the deals already concluded although the latter evolved within the limits of the quotas stipulated.

Apart from the Protocol which regulates one year trade exchange, a Protocol of Five Year Compulsory Wheat and Cotton Deliveries and a Protocol on Mutual Crediting were likewise signed in Belgrade on May 8. The first protocol provides for the obligation of the Turkish Government to deliver at least 100,000 tons of wheat and a maximum of 200,000 tons i.e. 20% of the Turkish export surplus of this item annually during the next five year period. The Yugoslav government assumed the obligation to purchase this quantity at prices which will be jointly fixed between the two countries. At the same time the Turkish government assumed the obligation to deliver at least 4,000 tons of cotton annually to Yugoslavia during the next five year period. These protocols were concluded on the basis of experience acquired in mutual exchange, which revealed that these two staple products, namely wheat and cotton, actually determine the volume of commodity exchange between the two countries. Therefore the Governments of both countries agreed to conclude this five year protocol on the compulsory delivery and purchase of wheat and cotton for the purpose of ensuring greater stability in the development of trade exchange.

By the second Protocol both governments consented to mutually ensure additional supplementary manipulative credits in the value of 6 million dollars each year. Experience has shown that this supplementary credit is more or less indispensable if one wishes to eliminate the difficulties encountered so far due to the seasonal fluctuations of Turkish exports. Turkey is not in a position to honour its payment obligations within the Yugoslav-Turkish clearing during one part of the year, i.e. at a time when it does not dispose with exports of seasonal articles, as wheat, cotton etc. Yugoslavia shows an opposite tendency which requires supplementary additional means of payments when purchasing Turkish agricultural surpluses. Both countries have agreed to reduce their debit balance each year to the level of the normal manipulative credit as fixed by the regular payments agreement.

These five year Protocols which represent a novel feature in the foreign trade relations of both countries reveal the intention on both sides to devise new forms which will enable the broadest possible economic cooperation between two allied and friendly countries.

PARLIAMENTARY LIFE

Gustav VLAHOV

THE SOCIAL SERVICE IN THE COMMUNE

OWING to their specific nature and character the problems relating to the social services arise locally; it is there that they exert their influence, await their solution and it is there that they should be resolved. Regardless whether the numerous problems of child welfare, social insurance, the granting of supplementary protection to employed persons or other is involved, the implementation of these services, although based on the legal provisions valid for the entire community and intended to comprise everyone who needs them, thus enabling the individual to feel the care of the entire community, can only be effectively realised within the framework of the local community, i.e. the commune.

The powers of the People's Committee cover all the problems of the commune. It coordinates the measures and activities in all fields of social activities, ensures the basic material funds and resolves the relevant problems. The Committee has insight in all social activities and the possibilities for their harmonising with a view to achieving the maximum effect within the shortest possible time.

Both the solution of problems relating to the social services and the undertaking of general and efficient measures both with regard to individual and related problems, require the fostering of the over-all initiative and the active participation of the broadest strata of the people. Such an activity and initiative which is necessary for the successful implementation of the social services cannot be ensured only by the forces of the People's Committees themselves. The present forms and methods of work implemented through the contact of the Committee members with their voters (voters' meetings and every day contacts) through the People's Social and Health Service Council which includes a number of active citizens (representatives of social organisations, i.e. the Socialist Alliance of Working People, the Child Welfare Organisations and Societies, the Red Cross etc.) through direct contact and joint meetings with representatives of social organisations have a notably broader basis, and have ample scope as regards the solution of individual problems. The Health and Social Services Councils, owing to their composition and direct active ties of their individual members with social organisations are in a position to deal with the relevant problems broadly and comprehensively, reach the necessary decisions and implement them in practice.

On the other hand, parallel with the rapid development of our country there surge and appear new problems which could not be taken in consideration and dealt with in the past, not because they did not exist, but owing to the insufficient material basis and the level of our development. The appearance of these numerous and various problems brought about the conditions for the creation of

various voluntary societies and organisations aiming at their solution. Hence an extremely lively voluntary activity is frequently being developed within the framework of such societies and organisations, which is still not utilised by the People's Committees and the Health and Social Service Council systematically and efficiently. This is primarily due to the fact that the organisations and societies in question are still too universal and inconstant in the rate and rhythm of their activity, and on the other hand, because the links with the People's Committees, i.e. the Health and Social Services Council are often superficial and desultory and in many cases limited to request for subsidies and financial aid.

With a view to strengthening these indispensable mutual links and cooperation, coordinating and harmonising all forces and efforts towards the solution of the individual problems of social welfare, it is necessary not only to establish various forms of consultative and coordinative character, but the introduction of new forms becomes imperative. These are the forms of a stimulative nature, which would not only afford the possibility for the correct and manifold utilisation of the existing activities of various societies and organisations, but would also contribute to the further strengthening of this activity and canalise it in the direction which is most necessary at the given moment. It is in these forms that the policy pursued by the People's Committee and the Social and Health Council in the sphere of the social services should primarily be manifested, as they have the possibility to grasp the problems of their commune and coordinate the solution of the problems relating to the social services with the other problems of the local community.

One of the instruments of this kind which would contribute to the promotion of all these forms, child welfare in this case, and provide a strong incentive for the activities of social organisations, are child welfare funds. Although still in their initial stages, and still insufficiently developed, these funds already provide notable incentive for the large scale activation of the social organisations and their members.

It is on such a basis and in this way that the problems of social services in the local community are being resolved. The strengthening of the material basis, the increase of powers and responsibilities, the enlisting of new cadres from the ranks of the most active members of social organisations ready to approach the direct settlement of the most complex problems involved by the organisation of the social services, open new far broader prospects for the correct and broad approach to the solution of the problems relating to the social services on a new, intrinsically different level.

ACTIVITIES OF YUGOSLAV VETERANS

THE Third Congress of the Union of Veterans of the National Liberation War, at which 728 delegates and executives, representing about one million, four hundred thousand members, discussed their work and problems, was held in Ljubljana on April 27 and 28 of this year. The Congress worked in plenary meetings and in five committees — for the protection of war orphans, for military training and lecturing outside the army, for the maintenance of historical places and the revival of traditions from the Liberation War, for foreign relations, and for organizational questions and rules of the Union.

The Congress was addressed on behalf of the World Federation of Veterans by its Honorary President, Vincent Auriol, and by its Secretary-General, Curtis Campion. A leaflet on the work of the Union in the preceding four years was printed and distributed to the delegates before the discussion, and a report explaining the leaflet was submitted on behalf of the Central Board by Aleksandar Ranković, President of the Union. The Congress approved the work of the Central Board in the period between the Second and the Third Congress, and accepted the reports of the Central Board and the Supervisory Committee, as well as that submitted by Aleksandar Ranković. On the basis of these reports and the subsequent discussions, the Congress passed several important decisions and resolutions, including a decision to proclaim July the 4th as „Veteran's Day“, a resolution on peace and international cooperation, and a resolution against the refusal of the Organizational Committee of the Film Festival in Cannes to show the film „The Way of Blood“. Further, the Congress adopted recommendations concerning the care of the war orphans, the work of the Union on military lecturing to youths, the protection of historical places, and the Union's foreign relations and participation in the work of the World Federation.

The Congress enthusiastically approved the proposal that President Tito should be elected Honorary President of the Union for life.

The Third Congress will, no doubt, exert important influence on the further work and life of the Union, since it clarified many questions, appraised the results of its work in the past, and determined its tasks for the future. This summing up of the results of the Union's activities will — after a certain period — be of great importance to its local branches, because they will all find their proper place among its million strong membership and so contribute their full share to its work. The Third Congress was a manifestation of the awareness of the Yugoslav veterans of the role of their organization in the social and political life of the country, of its contribution to the building up of socialism and to international cooperation.

Considering the question of protecting the children of the fallen and of the victims of the fascist terror, the Congress concluded that, by cooperating with the organs of people's government, social and educational institutions and economic enterprises, the local branches of the Union had played an important part in improving their material position, securing their schooling, health protection, employment and so on. The Congress asked all the organizations of the veterans to pay full attention to war orphans, the more so since the number of minors without one or both parents is still great — about 118,000.

Likewise, the Congress asked all its branches to continue to cooperate with the organs of people's government and to see that all children who had lost their parents in the war are enrolled in elementary, eight-year and other schools, and that those who are too old to attend school, and who have no property of their own, should be enabled to complete their elementary education through special school sections with condensed curri-

cula and shortened time, and to find them employment so that they may lead an independent life. The Congress also considered the problem of granting scholarships to the children and their accommodation in hostels or with individual families; and the local branches of the Union were asked to approach every child, to make his acquaintance, and determine, in each individual case, the best applicable form of protection, so that every child might obtain as much as the community could offer him.

In considering the problems of the families of the fallen and of the members of the Union, the Congress came to the conclusion that certain questions concerning the employment and rehabilitation of the disabled often present complex problems and definite tasks to the Union's organizations. As a result, the Congress recommended to all local branches to cooperate with the competent state organs and social insurance organizations in the solving of the general and particular problems encountered by the families of the fallen and those of the members of the Union.

The Congress favourably appraised the work of the Union in developing the traditions of the National Liberation War and in fostering the memory of the fallen comrades and the victims of fascist crimes. The Congress emphasized that the local branches had done much to keep the war graves in good order, that they had initiated the maintenance of historical places, the opening of National Liberation Struggle museums, and the collecting of historical documents, as well as organizing various patriotic manifestations, lectures, exhibitions, meetings and so on.

Particularly significant was the decision of the Congress to put in order the mass burial places of the victims in Jasenovac, the graves of the soldiers killed on the Sutjeska and on the Srem front, and to give more attention to the graves of our soldiers abroad.

Attaching great importance to the work of the local branches of the Union on the maintenance of historical places, the Congress approved the action of the Central Board which is endeavouring to preserve and keep from decay all places in which the leaders of the National Liberation Movement worked during the war, and in which historical decisions were taken. This action — covering the towns of Stolice, Krupanj, Titovo Užice, Foča, Jajce, Drvar and Bihać — is being carried out on the basis of a single plan, which provides for the opening of museums in all such places, and for the reconstruction of the historical buildings in which important events took place (the First Session of the Anti-fascist Council of Yugoslavia in Bihać, the Second Session of the Council in Jajce, the attack on the Supreme Command at Drvar, the headquarters of Marshal Tito and the Supreme Command in Titovo Užice, and so on).

The Congress also passed some resolutions concerning the role of the Union of Veterans in the military training of reservists. It pointed out the necessity of cooperating with sports societies and with technical organizations, whose social activities are very important in the strengthening of the defensive ability of the country.

The Third Congress of Yugoslav Veterans approved the international activities of the Union. In the resolution supporting peace and international cooperation, the Congress stated that the development of the world situation had proved that the struggle for peace was the only possible basis upon which international activities of the Union should be developed, and that our veterans and the veterans of other countries should exert all their efforts to suppress those forces which would like to see humanity thrown into a new war. The Congress concluded that our participation in the work of the World Federation of Veterans had been successful, and that it represented a positive element in the strengthening of the forces which

are fighting for peace and international cooperation. The Congress also expressed the conviction that the World Federation would lend its support to the forces which are fighting for the banning of atomic and hydrogen weapons, for the use of nuclear energy in peacetime purposes, for peaceful cooperation among peoples, and for still greater assistance to the underdeveloped countries. The Congress decided that the Union of Veterans should give its full support to all the positive endeavours of the World Federation, particularly to its endeavours to expand its ranks to include those organizations of veterans and victims of the war which, for various reasons, are not yet members. Similarly, the Congress decided that our Union should

support the action of the World Federation in the United Nations, and it approved the proposal that the Federation should be recognized as a non-governmental organization. The Third Congress of Yugoslav Veterans stressed the necessity of backing up the efforts of the World Federation for the protection of the rights of veterans, for the care and protection of war orphans, and for the work on the rehabilitation of the disabled, considering that in these fields the Federation could achieve still greater results.

The Congress worked in an atmosphere of harmony among the delegates, so that in a very short time, i. e., in only two days, it did a considerable amount of work.

Ašer DELEON

Secretary of the Confederation of Trade Unions, FPRY

The Fruitful Conclusions of the Congress of Trade Unions

At the beginning of May the Congress of the Confederation of Trade Unions of Yugoslavia was held which, in the full sense of the word, was a working agreement of the representatives of the most massive organization of the working class. In the post-war development of the Yugoslav Trade Unions, the Third Congress has a special place and a particular meaning — and not only from the point of view of the internal development of social relations and the social organization of the working class.

The Conference of the Trade Unions for the whole country in 1945, which was of the nature of a foundation Congress, determined the character and the role of trade unions at the time when the working class had just gained power and was preparing itself to take part in the rehabilitation of the country destroyed in the war. The First Congress of United Trade Unions in 1948 was held after the nationalization of the basic means of production and under the conditions of the difficult struggle for completing the huge five-year plan for the economic development of the country when the trade unions were, in the interest of the working class, leading above all a struggle for the mobilization of workers and clerks to complete the economic plans and endeavouring to combat the bureaucratic distortion of the rights and the achievements fought for and won by the workers. The Second Congress of the Confederation of Trade Unions was held in 1951 a year after the beginning of the new epoch in the life of Yugoslavia and her working men — a year after the enterprises had been handed over to the workers' management when accordingly the Trade Unions were fundamentally changing their character and only at the Congress did they pave the way for their activity under the conditions of self-management which was developing at that time. The Congress of the Confederation of Trade Unions of Yugoslavia in 1955 was able to summarize the rich experience gained by socialist construction, and to determine still more clearly the place and the role of trade unions in the framework of the social-economic system in which self-management in economic and social affairs and the local community as a basic economic and political unity, are the most essential features through which those rights have been achieved and realised, for which progressive working movements and trade unions in various countries of the world have been struggling for decades.

Consequently, it is understandable that the trade unions in Yugoslavia differ fundamentally from the trade unions in other countries — which is a starting point for the whole discussion and the conclusions arrived at at the Congress. The trade union organizations in Yugoslavia do not consider that their demands can be realised either by struggle or compulsion, but that the solution of the problems of the working class lies in the mechanism of self-management of that same working class which the trade

unions also represent. Hence the understandable attitude of the Congress, which, as the centre of gravity of the work and future activity of the trade unions has oriented itself towards the system of self-management, greater participation of the workers, in making them capable of self-management and the participation of the trade unions in the system of self-management. In this way, the trade unions are becoming a component part of this system of self-management, one of the social organizations which, in many of its features, is indeed a self-managing organization. Before the Congress, the trade unions had pursued the policy of the development of and participation in the system of self-management, not only because the governing rights of the working class were thereby promoted, but because in this way all its other problems were successfully solved. The Congress confirmed this attitude and stressed that through the extension of self-management and of the rights of self-managing bodies can the demands in the life of the working class be finally and effectively solved, demands for which a solution is to be found only in such a system.

The Congress began by instructing the trade union organisations to further devote the main part of their activity to the mechanism of self-management in co-operation with Workers' Councils, Producers' Councils, with the administrative bodies of various institutions, the self-governing bodies in social insurance etc. and thereby, on one hand to seek to solve the concrete problems of the working class, and on the other, to strengthen the position of its direct manager. However, the Congress did not dwell only on this matter. Practical solutions for some of the actual problems in that field were sought for and found. Thus for example, the resolution was adopted that the mandates of the Workers' Councils should be extended to two years, and that the Workers' Councils should be elected in the independent branches of various enterprises, by which the independence of certain parts of complex enterprises is achieved and the system of workers' management is adapted to the needs of the development in industry, building and mining.

Particular attention was paid to the demand for a specific organization of a working self-management in those economic fields which are not of a productive nature. Practice shows that, in trade for example such forms of social management should be sought for, in which the interest of the consumer, the possibility of this participating in the management together with representatives of the material interest of the consumer for work and business in trade must be represented.

The growing independence of local communities, let us say rather the process of the decentralization of the state system and the building up of communes has special repercussions on the activity and organizational structure of the trade unions. Because, in so far as the rights of the

communes are growing, in so far as their authority is increasing in economic life and in the solving of the fundamental problems on which living and working conditions depend, so must the role of local trade union management inevitably increase in order to strengthen the role of the working class in the life of the commune. Hence the Congress emphasized that the communal and district councils of the Confederation of Trade Unions are growing in importance and that, in practice, concrete solutions and decisions are, to a still greater extent than up to the present, passing over to the trade union branches in the enterprises and in the local trade union councils. In the conclusions arrived at by the Congress, it is stressed that the basic functions of the councils are: the active participation of the working class in the political and social life of the commune; the mutual linking up of the activities of the various branches; the stimulation of initiative for the improvement of living and working conditions; regulating the relations between the enterprises and the communes in the interest of the protection of the working collectives from excessive demands of the commune and viceversa; implementing the wage system and the functioning of the Social Insurance; participation in the solving of various communal problems on which the social and living standards of the working class depend; an understanding of the daily individual problems of the working people and their solutions. It is understandable that such a policy is inevitably linked with the gradual decreasing of the operative functions of the upper trade union bodies and that, for the same reason, it is possible to decrease the number of component organizations of the Confederation of Trade Unions and particularly to amalgamate kindred trade unions. The Congress adopted the resolution for amalgamating a certain number of trade unions and for bringing closer together kindred trade unions by means of favourable organizational methods namely, by the creation of common managements which will solve a certain number of common problems.

The living standard and the satisfying of the daily material and working necessities of the working men, presents a whole complex of questions which are of great importance to the trade unions. The Congress of the Trade Unions of Yugoslavia devoted all the necessary attention to this question, particularly because in that field there is not only backwardness, and because the tasks of the trade unions are seen in a new light, namely in regard to self-management inside and outside enterprises, attention to the necessities of life, to the regulating of working relations, to combating the infringement of guaranteed rights, is acquiring a new quality in Yugoslavia — it is becoming indeed, the activity of the trade unions in the development of the wide initiative of the workers in order to realise social control by the working class of their own self-managing organism. Practically speaking the trade unions are stimulating social control by workers and clerks over the Workers' Councils, over the managing boards of enterprises, Councils of Producers, institutions for Social Insurance, managing boards for hospitals, collective organs in various cultural and educational institutions, various councils in the communities and so on. However, the role of the trade unions in this field is supplemented by another very important quality which may be realised first and foremost because the workers have the right of self-management and because it is no longer necessary for the working class to organise class and economic struggles. The trade unions in Yugoslavia will, in their further development, be able all the more to acquire the character of an organization which serves to satisfy the concrete necessities of life and work and which will be able to engage in the undertaking of practical measures in order to satisfy various health, social, cultural, sport and similar needs of the workers and clerks. Consequently, the Congress clearly emphasized that the regulating and establishing of conditions in which the working class is interested, depends as much on legal regulations as on the struggle against the violation of these regulations and on the initiative for undertaking measures to improve the conditions of life and work — and that the trade union organization must act in all these three directions.

The Congress took up its attitude towards many other questions which it is impossible to enumerate here. They adopted the resolution that the production of heavy industry must be balanced with production of light industry, so that the quantity of consumer goods might be in-

creased; it was emphasized that in levelling the prices of certain articles which had hitherto been disproportionate, the wages of workers and clerks must be increased so that the fluctuation in prices is fully compensated; a clear attitude was worked out regarding the further development of the wage system; when they work out social plans for communities and districts, when they decide on the use of the profits which the enterprises dispose of independently, the trade unions were given the task of devoting much more attention to the solution of the housing problem. The resolution was adopted that night work should be better paid than day work, irrespective of whether it is permanent or temporary, regular or irregular; it was agreed upon to increase the remunerations of apprentices; it was proposed that the authority of the inspection of work should be increased and the punishments for those who violate the rules of working relations and legislation in general, should be stricter; special attention was devoted to the protection of women and young people at work.

Special attention was paid to the international co-operation of the Confederation of Trade Unions, and to the place of the Trade Unions of Yugoslavia in the contemporary international trade union movement. Until now international co-operation has been, beyond dispute, fruitful and successful. Not only normal relations with the trade unions of a great number of European and non-European countries; not only the exchange of experience in mutual interest, but also the number of trade union delegates from various countries at the Third Congress, indicates that the principles on which the Yugoslav Trade Unions base their international relations are positive and acceptable to the majority of democratic trade union organizations. The Congress clearly stresses that international co-operation of the working class must contribute to closer relations between workers, to the relaxing of international tension, closer mutual understanding and the promoting of peace. The Confederation of Yugoslav Trade Unions has, in present day conditions pursued a policy of bilateral relations considering that every ideological intolerance damages international co-operation, that the links between international and national trade union organizations for power blocs in the world, is not in the interest of co-existence and peaceful co-operation for which the trade unions should strive, expressing the vital interests of the working class in the international field. Therefore the Confederation of the Trade Unions of Yugoslavia is continuing and extending its international co-operation on the same principles previously established, endeavouring to strengthen existing relations, to renew those previously broken off and establish new ones with all the organizations which are willing and ready to co-operate on the basis of equality, non-interference in the affairs of other nations or movements and of the free exchange of ideas. It was and is still being proved that co-operation with the trade unions of countries which have a different social structure, that is with trade unions which, in their tasks, are essentially different, is possible and mutually beneficial and that the Confederation of Trade Unions of Yugoslavia will continue to develop their relations in this direction. Such a policy is in accordance with Yugoslavia's general policy and with the peace-loving powers in the world which see a solution to contemporary international difficulties in active co-existence.

True to the principles which it has hitherto held, the Congress adopted a Resolution on international co-operation and the struggle for world peace, in which it is emphasized that the working class of a country that is deeply interested in preserving peace, cannot but raise its voice in protest against every threat to peace, which is a fundamental pre-requisite for life and progress. Because today the use of nuclear energy for destructive purposes presents the greatest danger to the world, the Congress summoned the trade union organizations of other countries to use their power and influence to prohibit the use of atomic energy for war purposes and for exerting pressure on certain other countries and nations. One can rightly expect that this appeal will find support wherever the trade union movements truly reflect the interests and wishes of the working class because it is obvious that working people throughout the world are deeply concerned that the new sources of energy should be in the service of production and that the achievements of science be used for the welfare and progress of humanity.

ART AND CRITICISM

ELI FINCI

VISIT OF VILLAR'S THEATRE NATIONAL POPULAIRE

ONE of the most distinguished French theatres, Villar's Theatre National Populaire, visited Yugoslavia in the beginning of April, when it gave guest performances of two plays from its repertory, Corneille's „Le Cid“ and Molière's „Don Juan“, in Ljubljana, Zagreb, Sarajevo and Belgrade. Although it is difficult to draw any definite conclusions from these two performances only as to the trends and tendencies of this theatre, which has acquired universal fame in Europe during the past five years, the immanent qualities of these two performances enabled one to perceive and sometimes also clearly discern its specific, individual character. In his statements and interviews in Yugoslavia, the director and manager of this theatre, Jean Villar, devoted more attention to the *social aspect* of dramatic activities, namely, the role of the theatre in society, than to the problems of artistic creation, the complex series of psychological, and aesthetic problems, the questions of method and expression, which inevitably arise in the scenic realisation of the creative fruits of spirit and imagination on the stage.

It seems to me that this is far from incidental. The creative tendencies of Jean Villar, as organiser and artist in a theatre which has already made its name, and is consequently a definite factor in the world of theatrical art, are not directed towards the discovery of new essences and new expressions of action on the stage, even though the theatre, in some of its realisations, achieves such creative revelations. Villar's basic tendencies, all his intellectual and aesthetic aspirations, are directed towards the quest for a noble artistic contact with the public, towards an endeavour to find a social function for his artistic activities, and to justify them by the role they play in the satisfaction of the elementary cultural requirements of the average theatre-goer. While Bert Brecht, for instance, based his attitude on similar foundations and, inspired by similar objectives in his theatre and dramatic works, penetrated with revolutionary boldness into new and unexplored regions, often bordering on creative experimentation, Jean Villar started from the already established and vested positions in art, and wished to render that which has already been achieved and discovered accessible and close to these audiences who, of all the necessary faculties for artistic comprehension, have only the bare, primitive, organic hunger for spirit and imagination.

He is a reformer, certainly, but a reformer whose reforms are mainly limited to innovations in the organisation of the theatre as a social institution: to a series of actions aiming at the establishment of closer contact between artist and audience, art and the public, the theatre and the people. The Festival in Avignon, guest performances in suburbs, factory halls and on improvised open air stages, joint excursions with mixed programmes, evenings of recitations and chansons, dances till dawn, an identical uniform for all members of the theatre etc., are all undeniable outward symptoms of a conception which, — in a milieu where high art is the privilege of those who understand it or dabble in it out of snobbery, — according

to the antique example, wishes to return the theatre to the people, and thus restore its real function.

Needless to say, such a transformation in the role of the theatre in society inevitably requires certain modifications in the conception of dramatic art itself which, although inspired by the original creative élan, is nonetheless a means for the achievement of this fundamental objective. Jean Villar is sincerely and steadfastly inspired by this ideal of artistic service to the people. Both when representing a classical repertory, be it Shakespeare, Molière or Kleist, or when choosing modern texts, by Bert Brecht or T. S. Eliot for example, as his media, he always strives to adjust their specific world, often remote and alien to the average theatre-goer, to the intellectual and emotional needs of the latter, and make it accessible to the scope of his understanding and comprehension. It is neither simple nor easy in these efforts towards actualisation to find forms and expressions which will not betray the ideological and aesthetic essence of a definitely conceived and realised work. The pitfalls of banality and over-simplification lurk at every step. Villar is a real master in reconciling the seemingly incompatible. He always strives to remain faithful to the true essence of a work and its writer, and to find the corresponding ways and means to render this essence the most comprehensible to the mind and imagination of the contemporary audience. He devotes the greatest efforts of his creative faculties to the moulding of the scenic word, bare, and almost completely stripped of all auxiliary media. The scene is no more than intimated: a chair, a frame, a few flowers, or some other object: the costumes by Leon Gichier are always simplified and imperceptibly stylised, but with much taste, and keen perception and understanding of the characteristics of the milieu and period (particularly in colouring). The *mise en scene* is economical, frequently conditionally conceived, etc. But for this reason the spoken word as the prime medium in the expression of character and the evocation of a creative atmosphere acquires its full volume. Villar uses words in all their possible aspects and intensities: for him they are the direct medium through which he achieves his consummate scenic effects.

* * *

The two performances represented by the Theatre National Populaire during its fortnight's stay in Yugoslavia best confirmed the sense and significance of this theatre, and its specific tendencies within the framework of contemporary theatrical trends in French culture. In the performance of „Le Cid“, as conceived by its director, Jean Villar, this theatre did not aim at giving us an authentic Corneille, in the style and rhythm hitherto presented, as at the beginning of the modern French drama, and in the manner interpreted on countless occasions by the adherents of the traditional drama. Without the slightest attempt to recreate the theatre of Corneille, Villar strove to render the exceptionally rich and sensitive words of this dramatic writer, who wrought pure passion into the filigree silver of his verse, more accessible to the modern

theatre-goer, to make Corneille's world of passionate moral autopsy and the poetical evocation of all that is human, as natural and suggestive as possible. In his endeavours towards the actualisation of the intrinsic values of Corneille's *"Le Cid"*, Villar preserved the necessary respect towards a harmoniously conceived and consummate work of poetic fiction on man and life, without which the classical harmony of this sublime world built on spiritualised tendencies would be destroyed.

In order to invest the immanent poetical values of this tragicomedy with the necessary plastic character, Villar laid particular stress on Corneille's word. By the rejection of everything extraneous, with the minimum indications of place and few media for the development of the plot, which is reduced in Corneille's work to the indispensable facts necessary to the understanding of the tragic human dilemma of the main characters, Villar succeeded in representing the basic motif of a tragedy conceived in purely classical form, as an element of fatal human tragedy in the fierce conflict between love and duty, consciousness and passion, in a far more general form, freed of everything temporal and local; as a fatal conflict of the naked and real man with the moral imperatives of an established and conventional hierarchy in him and around him. In this way, by subtle deductions and implications, Corneille's classical motif is converted into a tragical motif of all times and all people.

Villar's intellectual tendency to build and rebuild by means of words invested Corneille's verse with a still greater fullness of tone and shade. That what was lacking in settings and other stage paraphernalia, which were reduced to the barest minimum, all that was consciously sacrificed in movement and gesture was richly compensated for by the manifold colouring and tuning of the words themselves. And the French actors, as we already know from experience, are past masters of the art of the placing of words in all their richness, in the sensing of all their values, psychological, aesthetic, and dramatic, thus imparting this cult of the word and its poetic intensity with an irresistible ease and naturalness.

It would be difficult to distinguish any of the artistic creations in this performance of cultivated efforts towards the integration of details into the harmony of the whole. But it should be stressed, however, that Jean Villar (the King) and Jean Dejan (Diego) gave a type of acting which was a shade more outstanding in its concern for full realistic verisimilitude, while Gérard Philippe (Don Rodrigue) and Silvia Monfort (Chimène) invested the classical prototypes of heroic characters with a subtle romantic shade of gesture and accent. The great scene of their test of love and hate, passion and duty, with those insuperable verses "O miracle of love", "O misery of miseries", in which once again all the hopelessness of their position is evoked, from where all roads lead to defeat, was truly moving in its sincerity, and magically ethereal in its tragedy.

In the role of the Infanta, which Corneille conceived with full intensity, but paid little attention to the method of its expression, Monique Chaumette gave the stylistically most complete and authentic performance. The proud superior poise, the dignity and tranquility, only concealed the suffering of an *esprit de choix*, whom the turbid streams of emotion and sensitivity had involved in the tragic whirlpool of human temptation.

Don Juan occupies a special place in Molière's varied dramatic work. Although this comedy, as long since established by drama critics, has numerous organic weaknesses, primarily looseness of plot and action with regard to the fate of the characters, it is nevertheless one of his most significant, and as far as Molière's philosophical ideas are concerned, one of his most characteristic dramatic creations. The static quality of the play gave the great playwright an opportunity of delineating the two leading characters of the play, Don Juan and Sganarelle, who hold endless discussions as concrete personages, and as representing ideas, in all aspects of their rich and complex nature. The first is a purebred aristocrat, gallant towards his equals, proud and haughty towards his inferiors: he is honourable when the formal honour of the aristocracy is involved, a cad when his needs are satisfied: a "Tartuffe in love" when overcome by his passion for conquests: he is a violator of tradition, morals and religion: a hypocrite and a cynic, a rationalist who wants to free himself of all human prejudices, and to see everything clearly and unconditionally.

His servant Sganarelle is exactly the opposite, his eternal echo, complement and correction. A man of the

people, he is wholly limited by practical experience, devoid of boldness, but also of fantasy. He is reasonable and sober, completely of this world, with a boundless faith in moral conventions and social necessities: towards everything he cannot ascertain by direct experience or comprehend by common sense, he feels either the contempt of the realist or the humble admiration of the primitive. He is religious and humble, full of awe towards the temporal, and fear towards the ecclesiastical laws. Don Juan and Sganarelle are the face and the reverse of the medal, two poles, two aspects, two functions of human thought in its wanderings between reality and fiction, necessity and freedom.

An artist of extraordinary intellectual and analytical powers, Jean Villar felt the flesh and blood of Molière's keen satire, which at moments assumes the form of a magnificent treatise on the power and limitations of human thought. While not neglecting the anecdotal picturesqueness of the story, Villar, wherever this was possible in the text, devoted the greatest attention to the scenic realisation of Molière's fundamental idea. But he succeeded in investing all aspects of this idea, both sublime and prosaic, bold and humble, with subtle ironic undertones, while conditioning and subjecting them to subjective needs and presenting them in a comic light.

The role of Don Juan was interpreted by Jean Villar. Far from representing this character only in his Epicurean amatory conquests, Villar felt and evoked him in all his complex philosophic scope and complexity. It is true that the presence of a pretty woman, noble or peasant, incites his imagination and lust. In no time he will find words to pierce as with an arrow the woman's vanity and ambition, as well as find the hidden path to her heart. But Don Juan is not merely this: he is a lover only superficially. He is also the Don Juan of cynicism and scepticism, the Don Juan of knowledge and logic. He fears neither God nor man, as he is logical to the end, and believes in the Carthusian definite laws of life. He despises everything, even himself and his contempt, as he considers vanity the source of all human passions and exploits, and feels himself above and outside the human community, which seeks a sense and reason for everything, thus wishing to justify its limitation of free will. Villar knew how to be irresistible, while not neglecting the comic side of the love scene with the two peasant girls: brazenly indifferent towards warm tenderness in scenes with Elvira: boredly cynical in the scene with his creditor: a knight sans peur et sans reproche with Don Karlos: a fearless atheist in the conflict with the Statue: a superior logician in his numerous skirmishes with the simple reasoning of the naive Sganarelle and the worried counsels of his depressed and proud father. He is all this and much more, and again a supremely delineated and consummate character!

Daniel Sorano interpreted Sganarelle with the true humour of gesture and accent which stems directly from the character of the personage. The naturalness with which he evoked every comic situation, while not resorting to any external means of stereotyped evocation, conquered the public and held it until the last scene, where the tragic sorrow over the lost reward is converted into an irresistibly comic picture of human misery.

Monique Chaumette gave a warm and suggestive interpretation of a modest and betrayed woman, who regards love as the highest gift in life.

In a scene which the director conceived with charming humour, the two peasant girls, Charlotte and Mathurine, were interpreted by Zani Campan and Christianne Minacoli with verve and wit, and an ease in which there was much personal charm.

Jean Pierre Dara, as the peasant Piero, conveyed a skilful and suggestive character study of a man of the people, by his peasant jargon and characteristic mime.

* * *

The visit of the Theatre National Populaire was unusually instructive. Although we would have preferred to see the guests in such works as the "Brave Mother" by Bert Brecht, and "Murder in the Cathedral" by T. S. Eliot, which are included in their Paris repertory, these two French classics gave us a clear view of the tendencies and style of this theatre which today, both by reason of its attitude towards tradition and the manner in which it strives to make art accessible to the people, is one of the most interesting in the world. The performances of "Le Cid" and "Don Juan" particularly confirmed the reputation which this distinguished French theatre enjoys throughout the cultured world.

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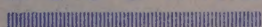
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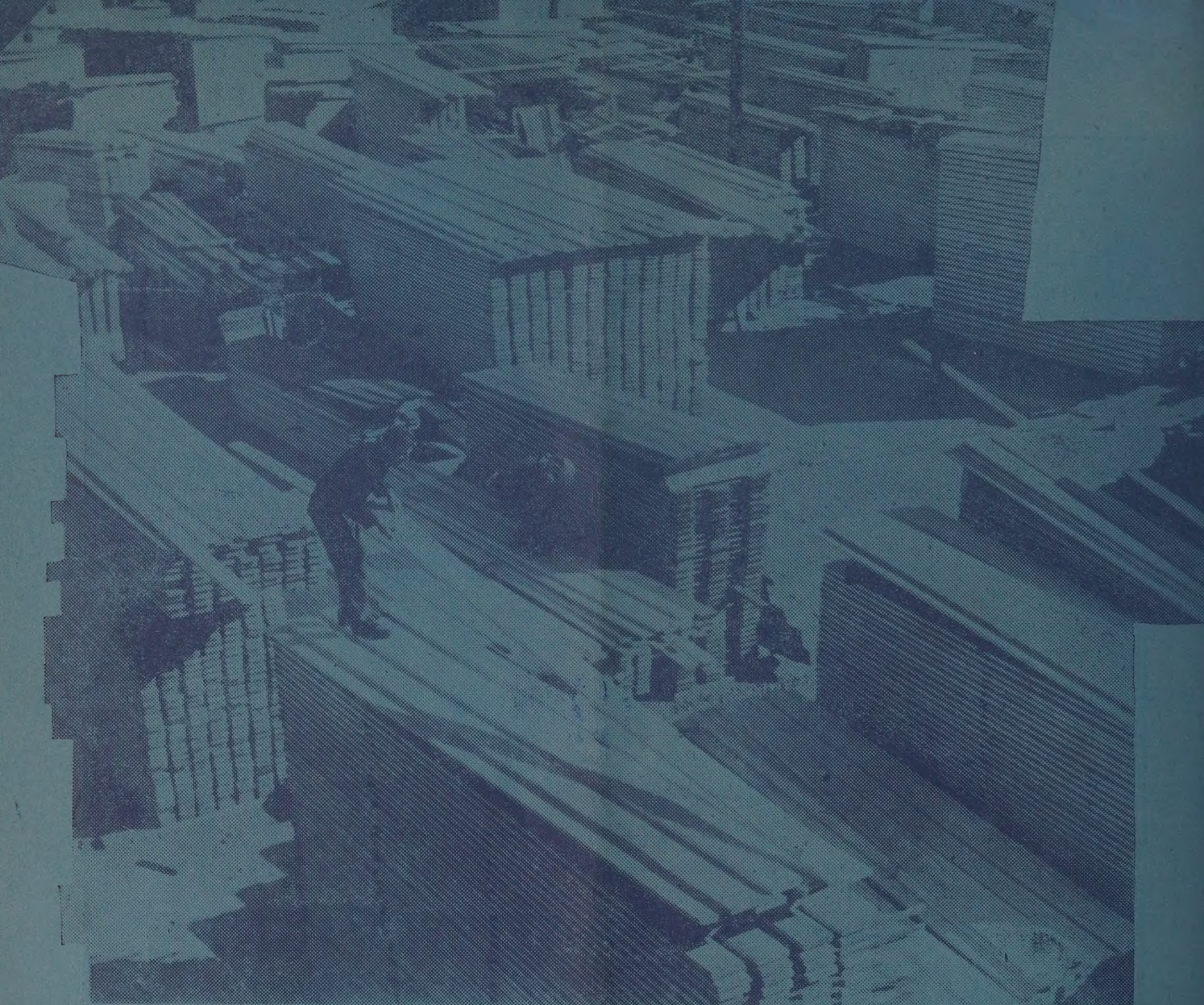
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